Daily Report

East Europe

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Warsaw Pact's Gen Lushev Begins CSSR Visit

Arrives 23 Mar

LD2303204789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, arrived in Prague today on a short working visit. He was met at Ruzyne Airport by Army Gen Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense, at whose invitation the visit is taking place.

During his visit, Army Gen Petr Lushev will meet with Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and hold talks with Army General Milan Vaclavik.

Received by Jakes

LD2403150889 Prague CTK in English 1315 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 24 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes today received Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states, who is in Czechoslovakia on a brief visit.

Milos Jakes wished Petr Lushev much success in his work in strengthening coordination between the armies of the Warsaw Treaty states and assured him of full support of the Communist Party Central Committee and the Council of State Defence in this responsible work.

The two representatives exchanged views on the solution of tasks stemming from the adoption by the Warsaw Treaty of a joint military doctrine of a purely defensive character and connected with the effort to create a military-strategic balance at the lowest possible level, on the basis of the principle of reasonable sufficiency. They stated that the new approaches of the Warsaw Treaty and unilateral steps of its member states have so far not seen adequate response from the West.

Petr Lushev provided information on the activity of the joint command in ensuring the defence capability of the Warsaw Treaty member states in the new conditions.

In a discussion, which took place in a cordial friendly atmosphere, Milos Jakes acquainted the guest with the tasks of the party in restructuring, the reform of the economic mechanism and in the democratization of political and social life, with regard to the decision of the Central Committee to hold the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in May 1990, one year earlier than it would be due.

Meets With Defense Minister

LD2403151289 Prague CTK in English 1320 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 24 (CTK)—Czechoslovak defence minister, Army General Milan Vaclavik met here today for talks with Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

The two representatives discussed topical questions of the present military and political situation, its consequences for the ensuring of the defense capabiity of the Warsaw Treaty member countries and improvements in the structure of the Joint Armed Forces.

They paid special attention to the questions of unilateral reduction of troops and armament and organizational changes in these countries' armed forces.

Analysing the present military and political situation, Milan Vaclavik and Petr Lushev pointed out the need to continue to pay attention to the improvement of military cooperation of ther Warsaw Treaty member states' armies. The Czechoslovak People's Army will make every effort to help strengthen the international combat alliance.

Departs 24 Mar

LD2403174689 Prague CTK in English 1557 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 24 (CTK)—Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Treaty Joint Armed Forces Army General Petr Lushev ended his short working visit and left Czechoslovakia Friday [24 March].

CEMA Conference on Cancer Research Opens

AU2003130389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Jueterbog (ADN)—A CEMA conference on cancer research and cancer prevention through the year 2000 opened in Wiepersdorf in Jueterbog Kreis on Thursday [16 March]. Oncologists from Bulgaria, the CSSR, Cuba, Poland, the USSR, and Hungary, who came to the GDR at the invitation of the Central Institute for Cancer Research of the Academy of Sciences and the Ministry of Health, will up until Sunday [19 March] discuss long-term developments in this medical discipline. The experts are especially interested in carcinogenic factors. New findings have to be taken into account in the field of molecular biology, stated Dr Eberhard Heise, deputy director of the Academy's Central Institute. This concerns basic research on oncogenes that strongly influence the malignant growth of tumors.

Vienna Conventional Arms Talks Continue

CSSR's Balcar on Troop Numbers

LD2003203989 Prague CTK in English
1949 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 20 (CTK)—Head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the talks on conventional armed forces Ladislav Balcar recalled here today the Warsaw Treaty proposal on the elimination of asymmetries both in basic types of the most destabilizing weapons and in troop numbers in the first stage.

He pointed out that air force and conventional troop numbers are an important part of the potential of a surprise attack and conducting offensive operations.

When considering the numbers it must be taken into account that if maximum troop numbers are not agreed upon, there will never be a guarantee for the other side that at a critical moment the numbers will not be increased, the Czechoslovak representative stressed.

Both sides agree that a demanding control must be part of an agreement, and stressed the fact that without the elimination of the numbers of the armed forces and air force a future agreement would not be balanced.

Balcar Terms Talks 'Encouraging'

LD2303221789 Prague CTK in English
1401 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 23 (CTK correspondent)—Head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the talks of 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states on conventional armed forces and talks of 35 Helsinki Final Act signatories, Ambassador Ladislav Balcar told CTK here that the first round of talks, which ended today, was "encouraging."

He said that both forums are dominated by the spirit of businesslike and constructive approach and the interest of all participants in advancing the affairs without procrastination. Dialogue, which has developed, is sometimes sharp but free of confrontation. It must be appreciated that during the talks of the 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states, both sides presented proposals that have a number of points of contact.

On the other hand, there are certain differences in the two groupings' approaches, Ladislav Balcar said. Whilst the Warsaw Treaty countries propose to include troops and all most destabilizing offensive weapons in the reduction, the NATO states insist on selection. They demand reduction in the number of tanks, big guns and armoured vehicles but set the numbers of troops aside. The Czechoslovak ambassador expressed the conviction that after explanation of criteria during next rounds of talks, both sides will find ways to overcome these and similar differences.

Correspondent on 'Good Sign'

LD2303231889 Warsaw PAP in English
2232 GMT 23 Mar 89

[By PAP correspondent Andrzej Rayzacher]

[Text] Vienna, March 23—How did the Second World War begin for the Americans? With an unexpected, crushing air attack by the Japanese on the U.S. naval base Pearl Harbor. The attack prepared a large-scale invasion on the Pacific and gave way to Japanese occupation of many territories.

Why do we recall this well-known fact? Because it undermines the thesis according to which it is useless to discuss during the Vienna negotiations of 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states the striking air force as an element of arms potential capable of carrying out a sudden land attack and occupying enemy's territory. Such was the opinion voiced so far by the Western side.

Unexpected progress was achieved on this matter today during the last plenary meeting of the 23 states held before Easter. Unexpected one because it was believed that it would take months of arduous negotiations to convince the Western side that its stance was not right. The U.S. delegate, Steven Ledogar, told a press conference that airplanes were subject of negotiations by 23 states. The progress is slight but worth mentioning as it means that right arguments do not fall on a deaf ear.

Now it will be necessary to convince Western partners that striking aircraft must be included in the first agreement, and the ones to follow as Ambassador Ledogar and his collegues think. Why?

For there is a growing tendency to develop air force as an offensive element of arms potential, this being accompanied by a reduction of the significance of armoured troops. In the opinion of experts an airplane of tactical front air force can replace with its fire force and effectiveness a few or a dozen or so tanks. The proportion is still higher in case of comparing a tank with a fighter chopper.

If participants in the Vienna negotiations are to reach the goal of freeing Europe from the fear of an unexpected attack it is necessary to "extract teeth" of all offensive components of arms potentials which can make such an attack possible. Pearl Harbor proves this irrefutably.

The end of the first round of the Vienna negotiations of 23 states seems to show that there are possibilities of effective persuasion, that there is will to constructively react to right arguments without hiding oneself behind inviolable dogma. This is a good sign.

Editorial on 'Severe' Steps Taken in Kosovo

AU2403202189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Advance report on editorial to be published on 25 March, in ZERI I POPULLIT: "The Constitution of Tanks"]

[Text] We are reading the editorial article entitled: The Constitution of Tanks, to be published tomorrow in ZERI I POPULLIT:

What should not have happened in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, has in fact happened. Against the will of the people, arbitrarily, and violently, the Kosovo Assembly has given its consent to the amendments to the Constitution of Serbia. In the heavy atmosphere of the arrest of Albanian cadres and intellectuals, political and psychological terror, and surrounded by the gun barrels of tanks, thousands of police, and tens of thousands of troops, the Kosovar deputies submitted to blackmail and were compelled to raise their hands.

Despite the state of emergency, the Albanian population, for its part, took to the streets and demonstrated openly and fearlessly, unanimously, and resolutely, its total disagreement with the arbitrary and anti-democratic laws that limit their autonomy and impose on them a status of second-class citizens.

Kosovo is entering a new stage in its life, similar to that of the time of Rankovic, when national hatred, arbitrariness, and the uncontrolled violence of Serbian chauvinism reigned supreme. However, the enforcement of the new Serbian Constitution is not a blow dealt against Kosovo alone and the Albanians. It is a also a blow against the results of the National Liberation Movement of the peoples of Yugoslavia, its idea of federalism, the right of the nations to their autonomy, the recognition of total equality, as a fundamental prerequisite for their union in one single state, the confirmed practice of the informal consensus of the republics and provinces concerning the state's authority, and so forth.

A step was thus taken, with really severe consequences for all of Yugoslavia and all its peoples. Milosevic's battle for Kosovo has been transformed into a battle for the destruction of the foundations of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and has established the indivisible and all-powerful authority of extreme Serb nationalism over all of Yugoslavia.

The foreign press is now writing that a split is occurring between the northern and southern republics of Yugoslavia regarding Serbia's position pertaining to the solution of the Kosovo problem, and its unitarist and centralist proposals to escape from the crisis that has swept the country. This is not a good thing, but it was inevitable. It is obvious that the fate of Kosovo is also the fate of the other peoples of Yugoslavia, that the Serb experiment in Kosovo cannot remain isolated, and that the appetite grows by eating. What is new in these events is that, warned by the experience of the Albanians, the other peoples, too, have become aware of the fate awaiting them. After limiting the autonomy of Kosovo, the leaders of Serbia and their press have begun a campaign to change the entire 1974 Constitution. According to their demands, this process must be completed by the end of 1990. Solevic is planning to organize Serbian demonstrations in Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Sarajevo, similar to those in Novi Sad and Titograd, in order to overthrow the bureaucraticized leaderships opposing Serbia. If this cannot be achieved through such demonstrations, as was the case in Kosovo, the tanks, which are out of the barracks, will not find it difficult to turn in a northerly direction. The scenarios are ready and tested. The Mojsovs are also ready to denounce imaginary plotters.

What is going to happen next in Yugoslavia? No one can tell. A lot will depend on the balance of internal forces, but bearing in mind also Yugoslavia's great dependency, particularly its economic dependency, from outside, a lot will also depend on the stand of its partners, who have so far been watching the spectacle. However, one thing that is well-known is that the peoples of Yugoslavia will hardly reconcile themselves to Serbian hegemony and voluntarily relinquish those national and democratic rights for which they rose in the National Liberation Struggle. Kosovo is demonstrating this now, the others may testify to this in the future.

It is beyond all doubts that the Albanian population of Kosovo considers the limitation of the province's autonomy and their national rights as a great loss and as a great injustice done to them. The Albanians have demonstrated this clearly and publicly, in the same way that they have expressed clearly and publicly that they cannot accept the insults, discrimination, threats, and blackmail to which they are subjected. The anger and revolt of the Albanian population are great, as great as their wisdom and coolness, which prevent them from weakening and from losing their sound judgment in all situations, which teach them how to fight successfully for their rights, and how to defend these rights.

For propaganda purposes, for gaining time, for demagogic purposes, or in order to mislead people, it is now being said in Yugoslavia that the autonomy of Kosovo remains, despite the amendments to the Constitution of Serbia, that the national rights of the Albanians will not be affected, and so forth. So far, these have remained general formulas, but nothing has been said concretely. Will the right of education in the mother tongue be preserved, as has been the case until now? Will the right of the usage of the Albanian language be preserved in administration and information? Will the Albanians be able to develop their original culture, to cultivate their historic traditions, to preserve their way of life, and so forth? Will the numerical proportion be preserved regarding employment and representation in the legislative and administrative organs? Will they also enjoy the same juridical and civic rights, like the other peoples?

Briefly, will they be masters in their own home, or will they have to completely submit to the Serb diktat and will? All this remains to be seen. However, since we are observing what is being written in the Serbian press, the omens are not good. The pages of the Serbian press are full of savage chauvinistic demands, which are openly contrary to the promises that the autonomy of Kosovo will be respected.

The changes in Kosovo have further complicated the situation, making it even more tense. Those who have opened up the wound of Kosovo and who have caused it to fester even more, are assuming a heavy responsibility before the peoples of Yugoslavia and the entire world. A lot of work and effort will be needed to close this wound, if it can ever be closed. The wounds of Yugoslavia cannot be healed through this policy that is being conducted against the Albanians and others, when political wisdom has been replaced by chauvinistic insanity, when political means to resolve national and social conflicts have been replaced by tanks, when public opinion is not considered, and when the thirst for power and hegemony over the peoples and nations is transformed into a destructive obsession.

Economic Progress Report for 19-25 Mar

AU2503165389

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 19-25 March carries the following economic performance reports (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Fier District: Eighteen out of 24 collectives report having fulfilled or overfulfilled the plan up to 15 March. (1900 GMT 21 Mar 89)
Kukes District: The industrial production plan up to 15 March was fulfilled by 101 percent. (1900 GMT 18 Mar 89)
Librazhd District: The general industrial plan up to 15 March was overfulfilled by 2 million leks. (1900 GMT 22 Mar 89)
Mirdite District: Twenty-one out of 30 collectives report having fulfilled or overfulfilled the plan up to 15 March. (1900 GMT 22 Mar 89)
Pogradec District: The industrial production plan up to 20 March was fulfilled by 105 percent. (1900 GMT 23 Mar 89)
Sarande District: The general industrial plan up to 15 March was overfulfilled by 2 million leks. (1900 GMT 21 Mar 89)
Vlore District: Forty collectives report having fulfilled or overfulfilled the plan up to 15 March. (1900 GMT 21 Mar 89) The light industry sector overfulfilled its plan up to 20 March by 1 million leks. (1900 GMT 23 Mar 89)

Leaders' Public Appearances for 17-25 Mar

AU2503162589

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 17-25 March reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Adil Carcani, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee [AWP CC] Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Foto Cami, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary; and Prokop Murra, AWP CC Politburo member; attended on 18 and 19 March celebrations in the districts of Skrapar and Berat, on the 45th anniversary of the seventh assault brigade. (1900 GMT 18 and 19 Mar 89)

Muho Asllani, AWP CC Politburo member and Durres District AWP Committee secretary, attended on 17 March the inauguration of some apartment blocks in Durres. (1900 GMT 17 Mar 89)

Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs, received on 19 March Siegfried Lengl, head of a visiting German economic delegation. (1900 GMT 19 Mar 89) Malile attended on 24 March a Greek Embassy reception. (1900 GMT 24 Mar 89)

Zhivkov Meets With Sevlievo Municipality Leaders

AU2403145889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Mar 89 pp 1, 6

[Excerpts] Sevlievo, 22 March (BTA special correspondent Georgi Vedrodenski and BTA correspondent Khristo Baydanov)—The party's July Concept has opened up opportunities for the economic advance of Sevlievo Municipality and for more fully meeting the workers' social and intellectual needs.

The new administrative division, the changes in party structure, self-management, and the absence of patronage are also producing good results in this region: a multibranch economy is developing, in which a leading part is being played by machine building; metalworking; the textile, knitwear, leather, and food and tobacco industries; the manufacture of building materials; woodworking; and vehicle repair activities. Certain types of manufacture, such as enameled conductors, household equipment, energy equipment, and industrial asbestos products have become established on the international market. The municipality's annual goods production exceeds 455 million leva.

These achievements and the problems that are being solved were discussed at today's meetings between Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and the leadership and aktiv of the municipality.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov was very cordially welcomed by Nikola Tsonev, first secretary of the Lovech Oblast BCP Committee; Kuncho Kunev, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Lovech Oblast People's Council; Georgi Livorov, first secretary of the Sevlievo Municipal BCP Committee; Penyo Nikolov, chairman of the Executive Committee of Sevlievo Municipal People's Council; and hundreds of workers, party veterans, and young men and women.

At the meeting with the municipal leadership, it was stressed that efforts are now being directed toward consolidating the style and methods of work, in conformity with the requirements of restructuring. [passage omitted]

Comrade Todor Zhivkov spoke about certain basic tasks that our country is now resolving in the implementation of the party's July Concept. In connection with the forthcoming BCP Central Committee plenum on agriculture, he underlined the need to strengthen and improve the existing collective forms of work, which permit the best possible utilization of modern equipment. The piecework method, which has already demonstrated its advantages, must be extended.

Part of Sevlievo Municipality, the largest in area in Lovech Oblast, is mountainous. Age-old beech forests have been preserved. Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed that greater concern must constantly be shown for the forests—a source of economic reserves and good health, a basis for the ecological balance. [passage omitted]

The first state firm, called "Vidima," was registered in the municipality yesterday. [passage omitted]

Business circles in the USSR, the FRG, Canada, the United States, France, Great Britain, and elsewhere have recently shown great interest in the products of the "Rositsa" Knitwear Plant.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov visited these two enterprises and acquainted himself with their work.

At a meeting with the party, state, economic, and social aktiv, Comrade Todor Zhivkov expounded certain new ideas on further expanding restructuring, and spoke about topical economic problems in the conditions of the company-based organization now being built Bulgaria. With regard to the specific geographical conditions of the Sevlievo region, he disclosed the main tasks in land management and in the development of agriculture and animal farming in highland and hill regions.

He also spoke about the increasing role of the municipalities with regard to restructuring in the intellectual sphere, as well as about making the municipalities centers of a rich cultural life. [passage omitted0

Balev Meets Political Officials in Rome

Meets Parliamentary Figures

AU2303081689 Sofia BTA in English 2057 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Rome, March 22 (BTA)—Mr Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], led the BCP delegation to the 18th Congress of the Italian Communist Party. In his capacity as chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly's Foreign Policy Committee, he met today with Mr Flaminio Piccoli, chairman of the Italian Chamber of Deputies' Foreign Affairs Committee, and with Mr Michele Achilli, chairman of the Italian Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee.

The sides exchanged views on the promotion of Bulgaro-Italian relations in various fields and pointed the progress they have been making recently. The agenda also included some international issues, and especially East-West cooperation and the contacts between the CMEA and the EC. It was agreed that a delegation of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, headed by Mr Flaminio Piccoli, will visit Bulgaria. The sides also expressed willingness for the promotion of contacts between Bulgaria's National Assembly and the Senate of the Italian Republic.

Confers With Party Leaders

AU2403191189 Sofia BTA in English
1836 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Rome, March 24 (BTA correspondent)—The BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] delegation, led by Mr Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, which attended the Eighteenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, conferred with Mr Giorgio Napolitano, member of the ICP leadership and chairman of the party's International Contacts Commission.

The sides outlined the areas of further promotion of inter-party relations.

Mr Milko Balev also met with Mr Alberto Benzoni, official international policy spokesman of the Italian Socialist Party. The sides expressed their parties' desire to promote their cooperation for the benefit of peace and security in Europe and the world.

Soviet State Bank Head Sums Up Visit, Departs

AU2303120589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Nikolay Viktorovich Garetovskiy, chairman of the USSR State Bank, has ended his 4-day visit to Bulgaria. Before his departure, he gave our representative his impressions of his meetings and talks in Bulgaria:

[Begin Garetovskiy recording in Russian, fading into Bulgarian translation] My visit to Bulgaria is at an end. The purpose of the visit concerned our work with the Bulgarian National Bank on agreeing on a plan for our further joint activity. We signed this plan, and had a real exchange of views on our future work. It will intensify mainly in three directions: in the domestic economic sphere, in foreign economic relations, and in the social field. Our economic mechanisms are similar in many fundamental aspects. We are also planning an exchange of specialists. We also discussed such problems as the convertibility of the national currencies of the CEMA member countries. [end recording]

Radio Free Europe Employees Return to Bulgaria

AU2603143289 Sofia BTA in English
1346 GMT 26 Mar 89

["Homecoming"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 26 (BTA)—Pavel Grozdanov Glavusanov, control programme editor at Radio Free Europe, Marusya Dimitrova Stoleva, senior editor at the same radio station, and their children, Aleksandur and Mmilena, have returned to this country.

When they set foot on native soil, they had the following to tell a BTA reporter:

"During our stay abroad we worked for a long time at the Bulgarian Service of Radio Free Europe in Munich, the Federal Republic of Germany. We decided to leave the FRG and to return to our homeland due to our bitter disappointment with the working conditions and environment at Radio Free Europe, with the harrowing atmosphere of the relationships among the Bulgarians working there, and with the humiliating behaviour of the foreign employers toward the Bulgarian employees, who are forced to turn the betrayal of their country into a vocation and an occupation.

"Another factor that motivated our fateful choice to put an end to our activity in the name of foreign anti-Bulgarian interests was the campaign, deliberately launched by certain intelligence centres, to attract slanderers of their own country from among our compatriots in Bulgaria and to use them on the waves of Radio Free Europe and of other radio stations for a hostile anti-Bulgarian activity which has nothing to do with the new spirit taking hold in the relations among the states and the peoples".

Sharing the reasons for their repatriation, Pavel Glavusanov and Marusya Stoleva expressed their conviction that they will have an opportunity to familiarize the Bulgarian public with the truth about Radio Free Europe's propaganda campaign against the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Assembly Committee Debates Ecology Draft Project

AU2203165189 Sofia BTA in English
1617 GMT 22 Mar 89

["A Draft Project on Preservation of the Environment Is Discussed"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 22 (BTA)—The Parliamentary Committee on Preservation and Reproduction of the Environment is considering today a version of a draft project on preservation and reproduction of the environment. Its preparation and adoption would be greatly significant for restructuring in the nature protection activity and the carrying out of the new ecological policy in this country, it was stressed at the session.

The aim is to develop a system of regulations which would contribute to the whole ecologization of material production in the other spheres of life, too, for turning the nature-protection activity into a priority task for the whole country.

In the statements made in relation to the project the stress was laid on the ecological investigation, the improvement of the state control, on more severe measures and demand of personal responsibility from the infringers of the Law for Preservation of the Environment, on the efficient use of the natural resources, on preservation and reproduction of the environment in the inhabited areas.

In reply to a question asked by a people's deputy it was said that in the preparation of the new regulations the existing law on preservation of the environment and the experience of a number of other countries have been used.

Economic Reforms Termed Necessary 'Experiment'
AU2203115989 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian
No 12, 20 Mar 89 pp 1, 4

[Article by Engineer Stoyu Kervanbashiev: "Courage and Vocation"]

[Excerpts] Remarkable changes have occurred in the industrial landscape of the world over the last 100 years. Small craftsmen's shops were replaced by industrial organizations, by companies of various sizes. It is precisely the latter which to the greatest extent determine the accumulation of material values upon which the intellectual superstructure of society is built. This applies to education, culture, and so forth. It is evident that society would greatly benefit from the efficient management of these companies. The extent of this benefit will be determined only by the method used in distributing material assets, specifically, depending upon the question of whether this method of distribution is a capitalist or a socialist one. This is why the maxim, "there are no bad soldiers, only bad officers," fully applies to every economic front.

The most important criteria for the qualifications of a manager, both as an organizer and specialist, are his courage in taking risks, his stamina, and his skill in dealing with people; in other words, he should show a true vocation for his profession. [passage omitted]

In my opinion, our economic history and our present-day reality show that one of the reasons for stagnation in a number of economic indices was the elimination of small, private craftsmen's workshops and small enterprises which had survived in the past, thanks to the quality of their goods and their reasonable prices, and that this elimination was not compensated for by dynamic material incentives and psychological encouragement in rewarding outstanding workers in this sector. Incentives were limited and stagnating; thus, the social energies of the "craftsmen" who distinguished themselves in their trade were paralyzed by incompetent leveling. I have observed how many talented innovators do not manifest their skills in their workplaces or seek creative satisfaction through other (mostly behind the scenes) channels. This results in tremendous direct and indirect losses of manpower, financial resources, and foreign currency.

Under the conditions of the socialist company, such an erroneous economic trend could be avoided if the internal company organization would guarantee a coordination of interests among the individual, the collective, and society (specifically, the state). Nevertheless, it is regarding the question of internal company organization that there is a lack of coordination, and the legal situation is still unclear. We do not know to what extent the company is truly independent regarding the establishment and distribution of incomes, currency receipts, taxes, "wholesale" and "retail" orders, and supplies, how the internal economic accountability should look, and so forth. Under such inconsistent legal conditions, it is not easy for the manager to show his talents and vocation. As a result of all this, considering the company as the basic nucleus of our future economic organism, we should admit that we have not fully resolved the major problems in this respect. This is an extremely dangerous situation when we are on the threshold of the 21st century.

Naturally, the good old bureaucracy should be blamed for all this! The middle levels of the administrative pyramids in our country (both the old and new ones) are mostly occupied by people of great experience and skill, but their addiction to the bureaucratic syndrome is a natural reaction against any kind of restructuring likely to simplify the economic structures and make their services unnecessary. [passage omitted]

The code of regulations applying to companies could not possibly provide for every innovation which an individual socialist company (private, cooperative, shareholder's, or state-owned) would require. However, the crucial problems which are now emerging in this respect will now be automatically resolved, but only on the basis of scientific-economic experiments. In our opinion, this experiment should be conducted in two or three enterprises that should maintain their own production program, their assets, and liabilities, but with the freedom guaranteed by law to carry out an "on-the-spot" check related to the application of the principle of socialist economic accountability. Such an experiment, in a purely scientific form (to which which we usually attach such great importance), has not been conducted in our country since the period of nationalization. Nevertheless, this is the only correct method of testing and challenging the competence of the socialist manager (I am not talking about the speculator), providing him with the opportunity to manifest all his qualifications. [passage omitted]

Some Bulgarians would promptly accept such an economic challenge and the respective responsibility it involves, but I can fully understand that the proposal for such a local experiment would be opposed by the closed ranks of civil servants because of the anticonstitutional threat of unemployment. Is this true, however? In the long run, the establishment of an efficient socialist company does not mean that the personnel will be dismissed, but that they shall have the opportunity to have a shorter working day, shall be involved in tasks connected with future innovations, or shall be engaged in other forms of socially and individually useful labor.

It is evident that without the observed experience of "economic innovation," many of our economic methods

will remain incomplete and deprived of social and economic security. We can now observe such phenomena in the economic restructuring of the USSR, as a matter of fact.

Similar, bold experiments (investigations) are required before we plan our progress in the entire economic sector; otherwise, our forces will be scattered, unexpected problems will constantly emerge, and the main offensive will be delayed....while the talented socialist manager will have to wait for his time to come.

Decree on Prices of Goods, Services Published

AU2103102389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Mar 89 p 2

[DURZHAVEN VESTNIK report: "How To Establish the Prices of Goods and Services"]

[Text] Issue No. 21 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK publishes the following important documents:

Decree No. 382 issued by the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on 10 March 1989 on amendments and addendum to the decree on establishing service time on the basis of legal procedure.

Decree No. 404 of 14 March 1989 issued by the State Council. On the basis of Article 93, Volume 14 of the Constitution, which ratifies a treaty between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Denmark on avoiding double taxation related to income and property, which was signed on 2 December 1986 in Copenhagen.

A new instruction issued by the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education amending Instruction No. 3, dealing with the enrollment of students in higher technical educational institutions which are integrated within universities. The amendments to the instruction are in accordance with a decision of the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education Ministry stipulating that in 1989, candidate students applying for admission to higher educational institutions are exempt from entrance examinations in social sciences.

The Ministry of Planning and Economy has published Instruction No. 1 of 1989 on the proceedings and documents required for the establishment, or registration, of prices. In the case of certain goods and services, their producers or importers, are expected to submit their proposals on prices in accordance with the respective state organ. In the case of goods and services whose prices are established by the Council of Ministers, proposals on prices shall be submitted through the Ministry of Planning and Economy. However, certain goods, services, and construction output [stroitelna produktsiya] exist, described in Addendum No. 1 of the aforementioned instruction, whose limit (specifically the highest) prices are established only through registration by the state organs in charge of prices. In the case of such goods and services, the registered prices are submitted by the producers or importers of such goods and services.

The documents which are to be submitted in this connection are also described in the DURZHAVEN VESTNIK publication. They include a coordination document [suglasuvatelen dokument]. Through this document, the consumers who commission the production of the goods in question, or who sign contracts for at least 60 percent of the production to be purchased by them, express their stand on the price proposal. The prices of consumer goods shall be coordinated with the respective trade companies. Total changes in the prices of consumer goods or of individual groups of commodities shall be coordinated with the Bulgarian trade unions and the consumer councils. In coordinating prices, the consumers are entitled to accept, contest, or reject proposals on prices as long as this is based on valid arguments.

SFRY Rally in Slovenia Viewed With Skepticism

AU2303164289 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 22 Mar 89 p 3

[Dispatch from Belgrade correspondent Velizar Enchev: "A Further Jump in the Scale of Tension"; date not given]

[Text] On 25 March a rally is planned in the capital of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia, yet not a single Slovene social organization is among its organizers. The rally was the idea of a group of workers and intellectuals from the SR of Montenegro and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. The rally organizers claim that they want to acquaint the Slovene public with the political processes which, in their view, contribute to strengthening Yugoslav unity. One of the motives for organizing this unusual rally is the negative standpoint of the Slovene leadership regarding the policy of the SR of Serbia in Kosovo. The initiators believe that actions like this will have an influence on the Slovene public, who totally supports its leadership.

What are the counterarguments offered by Slovene political and cultural circles? All Slovenes are unanimous in thinking that the very idea of this rally is a provocation against their republic, which does not conceal its disagreement with the Serbian leadership's policy within the federation. In their opinion, it is an attempt to repeat the events in Vojvodina and Montenegro that led to changes in the leadership at the local party and state level. Joze Osterman, chairman of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Ljubljana, stated officially that it is undesirable to hold such a rally, because its aims run counter to the principle of equal rights of all the republics. He declared that public opinion in the republic is aware of the real situation in Kosovo and does not need any rallies, which represent a crude form of pressure in

Slovenia. The Slovene Assembly also stated its own position, declaring that the organization of the rally, which disregards the republic's independence, cannot be permitted.

One of the culminating points of the tension in Slovene-Serbian relations was the open letter from Ciril Zlobec, deputy chairman of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia, to the Serbian party leader, Slobodan Milosevic. This letter was published in the Ljubljana daily DELO, and next day became the center of discussion among the Yugoslav public. The author of the letter made exceptionally critical comments about the Serbian leader, accusing him of inciting nationalistic feelings. He objected to the rally being organized in Ljubljana, saying that it was "playing" with our national sovereignty and dignity." [quotation marks as published] Examining the aftermath of the rallies in Vojvodina and Montenegro, Ciril Zlobec expressed concern over the country's federal structure, which in his view had been seriously shaken in recent months.

Many political observers believe that the planned Ljubljana rally may have serious consequences on the already troubled Slovene-Serbian relations. The mood prevailing in Slovenia is shown by a poll conducted by Ljubljana Radio, which indicates that the rally organizers may find themselves in a completely isolated position in their attempts to publicly expound their theses. There are also fears that clashes on international grounds may take place, because the Serbs and Montenegrins who are preparing to come to Ljuljana have declared that they will criticize Slovenia's policy in the federation.

Ankara Balkan Foreign Trade Conference Assessed

AU2203145489 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 21 Mar 89 p 3

[Bocho Bochev article: "Balkan Spring Wind—Impetus for Cooperation"]

[Text] The recent 2-day meeting in Ankara of the ministers of foreign trade and foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, Albania, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia revealed significant prospects for enhancing all-Balkan economic cooperation and bringing it into harmony with the imperatives of our time and with European and world trends. This was the first regional forum since the meeting of high-ranking representatives of the Balkan countries' ministries of foreign affairs which took place in Tirana in January 1989. It has given a vital impetus to the comprehensive all-Balkan dialogue. Emphasizing the priority role of cooperation in the economic sphere, the participants in the Ankara meeting exchanged opinions and views on a wide range of issues, the solution of which would help to raise economic relations among the Balkan countries to a qualitatively new level.

There is a general conviction that regional economic cooperation corresponds to the permanent interests of every Balkan state and that it is based on mutual respect and goodneighborly relations. Especially important is the fact that attention is directed toward the initiatives and forums whose practical implementation is facilitated by objective conditions. The joint communique that was adopted stressed the need for an effective flow of information, which would expand the scope of the coordinated efforts. In this context the possibility of creating a Balkan chamber of trade and industry and the appropriate mechanism for arbitration were reviewed.

It is envisaged that efforts will be made to encourage contacts between state and private enterprises and between economic figures and institutes, to create joint enterprises in the customs-free zones, to create joint investments, to further develop contacts between Balkan countries, and so forth. Outlining the main directions of the joint efforts in the coming period, the ministers expressed the willingness of their governments to strengthen the spirit of comprehensive all-Balkan cooperation and to give priority to its economic aspects.

With their clear and specific positions and ideas, the Bulgarian delegation contributed to the success of the Ankara meeting.

Under conditions of increased mutual dependence, the progress in regional economic cooperation has increased the Balkan countries' chances of finding more efficient ways not only of implementing ambitious national goals, but of participating in the global international processes with increased prestige as well.

Federal Assembly Resolution on Foreign Policy

AU2403145689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Mar 89 p 2

["Federal Assembly Resolution on the CSSR Foreign Minister's Report on Basic Foreign Policy Issues"]

[Text] The CSSR Federal Assembly:

—expresses agreement with the contents of the report presented by Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs;
—notes with satisfaction that the CSSR Government is consistently pursuing the line of foreign policy set by the 17th Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Congress and that it is enterprisingly developing that part of its policy statement of 8 November 1988 which deals with foreign policy; it
—expects the CSSR Government to develop activities in the field of foreign policy in the interests of establishing favorable external conditions for developing the socialist social system in our country.

On the present occasion the CSSR Federal Assembly stresses that it is essential to further intensify friendship, alliance, and all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, to develop them in harmony with the new conditions and needs, and also to enhance the efficiency and quality of political and economic collaboration within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

It fully endorses the disarmament proposals submitted by the USSR and other socialist countries, including proposals on unilateral steps aimed at reducing armaments and armed forces, steps creating prerequisites for achieving a further international detente and also strengthening trust between states and nations. This is yet further proof of socialism's humanitarian nature. The results achieved to date have been possible thanks to the new political approaches initiated and consistently promoted by the Soviet Union within the entire complex of international relations.

The Czechoslovak proposals, too, are helping to normalize the international situation. Along parliamentary lines, we are helping to explain, enforce, and elaborate the Czechoslovak initiative for creating a zone of confidence, cooperation, and goodneighborly relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

We support the CSSR premier's proposal to convene a meeting of the heads of governments of our neighboring countries in order to assess ecological problems, as well as other Czechoslovak initiatives in the political, military, economic, cultural, scientific, and humanitarian spheres. Such is our specific approach to the development of the all-European process.

We welcomed the concluding document of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna. We comprehensively understand the commitment following from it. We of the Federal Assembly will demand from the CSSR Government and from other appropriate Czechoslovak agencies and institutions that the conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting are reflected in corresponding specific measures, and we will check on their implementation. We are very closely watching Czechoslovakia's course in the follow-up actions that have been agreed upon, particularly the two disarmament negotiations in Vienna, which are already under way and to which we attach extraordinary significance. We expect a similar approach from the other participating countries.

However, despite the increasingly positive trends in international relations, the CSSR Federal Assembly realizes that there has been no basic turn in this sphere yet. So far the new thinking has not become the predominant norm in interstate relations. We can still hear voices based on the outdated, dangerous policy founded on positions of strength and nuclear intimidation. They are trying to foist their own ideas—for instance about human rights and democracy—on other countries. They willfully "give marks" to individual socialist countries and apply their discriminatory measures in economic, political, and other spheres accordingly. All this is in sharp contradiction to mankind's vital interests and to the basic principles of international relations, anchored particularly in the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, but also in the final document of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna.

The CSSR Federal Assembly stresses that it is necessary to improve the quality of information activities pursued by our Czechoslovak institutions and organizations abroad, and to create a truthful picture of Czechoslovakia in the world.

Together with other socialist states and all progressive, peace-loving forces and realistic politicians, Czechoslovakia will continue to strive for a political solution of problems and for the development of all-around cooperation among states and nations. The CSSR Federal Assembly is consistently orienting its bilateral and multilateral contacts with the parliaments throughout the world toward this end. We state that we are prepared to continue these contacts in this spirit, and to intensify them.

We call upon all citizens of our fatherland to contribute, together with the deputies to all our bodies of representatives, toward comprehensively strengthening socialism, progress, and peace by energetically helping to implement the restructuring policy in their workplaces, places of residence, and parties and organizations rallied in the CSSR National Front.

Further on Assembly Session

AU2403165989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Mar 89 p 1

[Marie Koenigova report: "Another Step To Enhance Deputies' Authority; The 13th Joint Meeting of Federal Assembly Chambers Ended"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent)—On Wednesday [22 March], the final day of their 13th joint

meeting, the chambers of our supreme legislative body approved the Law on the Federal Assembly Order of Procedure and the Law on Federal Assembly Deputies. These legal norms will significantly contribute to improving the quality of all Federal Assembly activities in deepening socialist democracy. Furthermore, the deputies expressed approval of the legal measures of the Federal Assembly Presidium of 14 February 1989 on the protection of public order.

The 2d day of the meeting, too, was attended by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec, and other party and state representatives.

Both draft laws were explicated by Jan Marko, first deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, who headed the group of deputies who initiated and submitted them to the meeting. [passage omitted]

He said that to make further progress in the work of deputies, conditions must be created for improving the legislative and social control activity of the Federal Assembly. It has become apparent that the existing law on the order of procedure no longer fully conforms with needs, that it does not regulate and faithfully reflect relations vis-a-vis, in particular, the executive organs of state power, and that, therefore, current practice inevitably preempts it.

Jan Marko noted that almost 200 suggestions for extra provisions or changes were made regarding the principles of the laws, of which almost 40 came from the CSSR Government and the Czech and Slovak National Councils. Two-thirds of these suggestions have been accepted. Of the suggestions made regarding the paragraph-by-paragraph wording of the laws, 74 have been accepted.

As far as the second law, the law on Federal Assembly deputies, is concerned, it arose from the demand that the character of the deputy's mandate and the deputy's legal status be codified by a special law that would, in addition to general provisions, also clearly express the deputy's rights and obligations in the legislative assembly and in his constituency.

The proposed laws do not contravene the provisions of the Constitution; they give them a specific shape, thereby establishing better conditions for deputies' work. J. Marko stressed that their adoption will markedly contribute to improving the work of the Federal Assembly and its deputies and, by the same token, to raising the effectiveness of the socialist political system in the current process of social and economic restructuring. [passage omitted]

In the subsequent debate, the deputies pointed to specific examples where the proposed laws might contribute to a more effective activity of the Federal Assembly. [passage omitted]

In this connection Deputy Vera Bartoskova emphasized provisions that contribute to deepening the control function of deputies' work vis-a-vis the organs of state administration and the newly formulated right to demand background materials and explanation from members of the Federal Government and heads of all CSSR agencies and organizations. [passage omitted] Deputies are also empowered to draw attention to instances of violation of state or labor discipline and the relevant listed functionaries and senior officials are obliged to react to this. The law also introduces greater flexibility into the exercise of deputies' right to make comments and suggestions by making it possible to submit an interpellation in a written as well as in an oral form. The reply to an interpellation must be given within 30 days; if the chamber qualifies the interpellation as urgent, it is entitled to demand a reply within a shorter time span. [passage omitted]

At their meeting on Wednesday, the chambers also approved the legal measures of the Federal Assembly Presidium on the protection of public order, which were promulgated on 14 February this year and the wording of which we published the subsequent day. Furthermore, the Chamber of Nations elected Jan Pampuch into the Federal Assembly Presidium in connection with Emil Hojnos' request to be released from that function.

After the conclusion of the 13th meeting, the Presidium of our supreme legislative body convened with Alois Indra, chairman of the Federal Assembly, in the chair and promulgated the laws approved at the preceding meeting.

Jakes Receives Departing Romanian Ambassador

AU2303194089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1828 GMT 23 Mar 89

["Exchange of Messages at Top Level"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Prague, AGERPRES, 23/3/1989—Warm messages were exchanged in Prague between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the CC [Central Committee] of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, when the latter received Romania's ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Ion Patan, at the end of his mission to that country.

Human Rights Committee Presidium Holds Session

LD2203093789 Prague CTK in English 2029 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 21 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Committee of Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation at its session here today assessed the present state of attending to more than 1,000 letters and complaints it has received up to now.

One third of them concerns issues directly connected with the mission of the committee, such as the freedom of association, the freedom of speech and conviction, and contacts between people, particularly meeting between family members, journeys for humanitarian reasons and private journeys. These letters are attended to with prior attention.

The Presidium stated with regret that some authors transferred their letters abroad without waiting for the committee to attend to them.

The Presidium of the committee assessed the effectiveness of valid legal regulations on the freedom of association. It suggested a new bill by which the character of Czechoslovakia as a socialist state based on the rule of law would be made more evident and legal certainties of citizens would be promoted. With a similar aim in mind, the Presidium presented international documents on human rights and humanitarian issues for publication. It also assessed the present contacts with Czechoslovak and foreign mass media and with international organizations and approved their further orientation in the interest of a more effective realization of the committee's mission.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 22 March on page 2, under the headline "Suggestion To Issue a New Law," carries a 300-word CTK report on the 21 March session of the Presidium of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation. The RUDE PRAVO passage on the legislative proposal made by the Presidium at the meeting reads: "The Presidium of the committee assessed the effectiveness of valid legal regulations on the freedom of association and assembly. It suggested that a new law be issued that would accentuate in this area the character of the CSSR as a socialist state based on the rule of law, promote the rule of law in the activity of the relevant state organs, and reinforce citizens' legal guarantees."]

FRG Bundestag Criticized for 'Meddling'

AU2003131189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Mar 89 p 7

[Josef Nyvlt commentary in the "Note" column: "CSSR in Bundestag's 'Care'"]

[Text] According to the West German press, the FRG Bundestag has adopted a resolution expressing its "amazement" and "deep concern," and an "appeal" and "recommendation" with regard to Czechoslovakia. According to FRG press reports, the "Bundestag notes with amazement that several fighters for human rights recently received prison sentences in Czechoslovakia," and "views with deep concern the CSSR's gross lack of respect for the Final Document adopted by the CSCE in Vienna." The Bundestag believes that the "improvement of cooperation in Europe can be guaranteed solely if all states enhance their efforts to achieve conciliation at home and abroad, and if all civic and human rights are adhered to."

As can be seen, the Bundestag claims the right to appraise the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak state and to act as judge of its domestic issues, with a reference to the Vienna document which, it alleges, the CSSR is treating with a "gross lack of respect." It is necessary to tell the Bundestag what has been repeatedly said in the past: that is, that both the Vienna document and the Final Act of the Helsinki conference deny nobody the right to have their own laws, legal regulations, practices, and policy (Article 3 of the Vienna document). Czechoslovakia has pledged allegiance to the conclusions of the conferences of both Helsinki and Vienna, and it will redeem its pledge. However, this naturally does not mean that it will tolerate anarchy, high-handed practices, provocations, or the vacating of positions so as to provide free scope for the operations of forces which are, for instance, inspired and organized precisely from FRG territory.

It is possible to fight and to "fight" for civil rights. Still, any deep concern is totally out of place on the part of the parliament of a country which has itself far from reached "internal conciliation" and which still has more than enough to do to clear up its own doorstep—from the ban on public employment of progressive thinkers up to, let us say, the various expressions of racism and Nazi revival. In the present case the amazing thing is not the depth of concern, but the depth of the hypocrisy. Or will the parliament of some other European country proceed to rectify things for the FRG in the sphere we have mentioned?

The appeals and proclamations of the Bundestag—including the appeal that the Federal Government continue to use every opportunity to exert influence on the Czechoslovak Government—must necessarily be regarded as meddling in our internal affairs and as a violation of one of the basic principles of the Helsinki Final Act. Similar forms and methods are well known from the past. However, the documents of the Helsinki process, aimed at "improving cooperation in Europe," to quote the Bundestag resolution, condemn any and all interference. Thus, the Bundestag resolution violates the very principles which it so fervently wishes to enforce; what a paradox.

Soviet Paramilitary Delegation Visits 20 Mar

AU2203205789 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 21 Mar 89 p 2

["(SPA)"-signed article: "An Exchange of Experiences"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday a 3-member study group from the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy [DOSAAF], the Soviet paramilitary organization, led by Colonel O.V. Sholmov, head of the DOSAAF Central Committee section for military patriotic propaganda and the press, arrived for a friendly working visit. The visit is being carried out at the invitation of the Svazarm [Association for Cooperation with the Army] Central Committee. In the course of 4 days the Soviet guests will become acquainted with the

problems of military and patriotic training in Czechoslovakia, will take part in discussions with the chief editors of the Svazarm press, will visit the Svazarm Primary Organization Narex, which took part in rescue operations after the earthquake in Armenia, and will tour the printing complex of the NASE VOJSKO [Our Army] publishing house.

Daily Notes Sakharov Remarks at Moscow Meeting

AU2203141289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Mar 89 p 7

[Vladimir Jancura Moscow dispatch: "Rupture in the Academy?"]

[Excerpts] The Soviet capital is slowly becoming accustomed to preelection scenes where passions run high, although it is not at all easy. Many phenomena bear the attributes of political struggle, known hitherto only from Western movies. However, hardly anyone expected the election fever to befall even the "temple of science," the venerable academy.... [passage omitted]

The trouble started after the collectives of some institutes of the academy found out that their "irons in the fire"—the names of Academicians Sakharov, Sagdeyev, Aganbegyan, and others—do not figure on the list of candidates. [passage omitted]

Yesterday, a conference of the USSR Academy of Sciences opened in the Youth Palace on Komsomol Avenue, whose delegates were to elect 23 deputies to the Soviet parliament. I went there to take a look.

The delegates were awaited by demonstrators with posters, most of which contained calls for a boycott of the elections. I inquired what the demonstrators have against the officially nominated candidates. After all, all the names on the list are authorities not only of Soviet science but of world science—Alferov, Nefedov, Osipyan, Petrov, Rudenko, Spirin, and many others. We respect each one of them, I was told, we are just opposed to the list of candidates as a whole. We want to see Sakharov on it. We do not like the fact that there are no "subordinates" on the list, just academic dignitaries and directors of institutes. What do they propose?

That I found out only in the hall, during the conference proceedings. Members of the so-called inter-institute initiative group called on the delegates to cross out all names on their lists. The elections would have to be repeated from the start, that is, starting with the nomination of candidates. Others started to call on the candidates to renounce their participation in such elections and thus force the presidium to call a new election and start the whole thing from scratch. However, none of the candidates for a deputy's seat reacted to this. Academician Samsonov, for example, objected to the demands of the "radicals" and urged them to stop their pressure actions and let everyone decide independently and freely....

The "radicals," mostly representatives of the academic youth, tried to drown out such speakers with "applause." In vain Guriy Marchuk, president of the academy, point out to them that such manners run counter to the democratic traditions of the academy....

Academician Sakharov, too, spoke in the discussion. He took the side of the views of delegates from the institutes. He claimed that, supposedly, the leadership of the academy has become estranged from the scientific community and proceeds undemocratically.

I observed those behind the table of the presidium. Sitting there were Academicians Velikhov, Kudriavtsev, Paton, Frolov.... Could it be that these people have become estranged? I do not believe this. I tried to imagine the feelings of the candidates, all of them famous physicists, chemists, biologists. They have behind them a 2-month marathon of preelection meetings and now they should give up just because—as some of the "implacable ones" reproachfully argue—they lack legal or economic education? I have my doubts about such arguments. [passage omitted]

While I was writing these lines, the discussion continued. More than 70 delegates asked to speak.

The election is scheduled for today. We will see what the secret ballot will bring.

Emigre Literature To Be Evaluated, Appraised

AU2003134389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Mar 89 p 5

[CTK report: "We Are Striving For the Unification of Creative Forces; From the Speech by Michal Cernik at the Members' Meeting of the Association of Czech Writers," held at Dobris on 14 March]

[Excerpts] Michal Cernik, chairman of the committee of the Association of Czech Writers (SCS), stressed in the introduction to his speech that this members' meeting was called on the basis of proposals put forward at the Fourth SCS Congress. [passage omitted] This meeting, then, is not an exceptional event. We are holding this working meeting of all writers within the framework of the democratization process of association activity, but we are attributing to it the role of activating all those who are not involved in association organs. We think that such a working meeting ought to take place regularly, always in the period between congresses. Therefore, we have backed away from the original designation of "conference" which has given some writers the mistaken impression that here we will resolve the cadre questions of our association, that we will elect new association organs, or that we will even convoke an extraordinary congress. Our association is an ideological arts organization and as such, in close cooperation with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], fulfills and develops its cultural policy. It is impossible to allow

tendencies which would direct the activity of the association toward politically adventurist positions and which would destabilize the line of political unity. You know that the 18th CPCZ Congress is convened for 10 May 1990 and that after that congresses of arts organizations will be convened. We will not consider other possibilities. [passages omitted]

The resolution of the Third Congress of the Association of Czechoslovak writers, Michal Cernik further pointed out, also recommended to our national associations that they should discuss the question of the membership of the most prominent writers who hitherto have remained outside our writers' association. For example, in the period after the congress the following were accepted as members: Bohumil Hrabal, Jiri Sotola, Zdenek Kriebel, Oldrich Danek, Vaclav Lacina, Miroslav Holub, Jiri Jobanek, Adolf Branald, Ivan Kriz, Ludvik Kundera, Miroslav Hornicek, Jana Stroblova, Jaroslav Foglar, and others. The SCS committee set the members' commission the task of discussing the acceptance of the following writers as members of the association: Josef Brukner, Vlastimil Marsicek, Pavel Hanus, Jiri Fried, Karel Ptacnik, and Jan Skacel.

In the spirit of today's social changes, we are striving for the democratization of the work of our association organs as the fundamental principle of restructuring. [passages omitted]

This plenary members' meeting in its own way also contributes to the intensification of the democratization of the work of our association. If voices are still being raised about the cabinet decisionmaking in our association, these are, then, markedly belated and uninformed voices. [passages omitted]

Difficult tasks stand before our association. This is the settling of debts which over many years have unpleasantly accumulated interest due from us. It is impossible to solve all the problems from month to month. Nothing can be forced, neither history, nor events, nor ideas, everything has its right time. I want to express the conviction that, despite differences of opinion, we will reach a joint understanding of what it is necessary to do to solve the present cultural political problems and that we will manage to concentrate our efforts on what are indeed essential questions. Let us not confuse policy with dabbling in politics, many people rather indulge in dabbling in politics. Let us allow our emotions to melt away and let us bank on the strength of reason, the authority of ideas, and the authority of creative work. Only then will our words and deeds attain the gravity of political responsibility.

At the meeting of the SCS Central Committee Presidium in September last year we charged the weekly newspaper KMEN with concurrently developing in its issues a discussion on Czech literature over the past 40 years, said Comrade Cernik later in his speech. The aim of the discussion is to bring about a complete and objective view of our literature over the past 40 years which is, for various reasons, incomplete. We must evaluate in reciprocal continuity the 1950's, the 1960's, and the 1970's and the entirety of this period in relation to literary development in the 1920's and 1930's.

Each of the past decades was stigmatized, here more, here less, by certain deformations of value criteria, by dogmatic, voluntaristic, or, on the contrary, by right-wing revisionist deformations. We must not even hush up certain contradictory names from our literature, first and foremost from the late 1960's, and we must not tiptoe around the work of these authors as if it did not exist. Let us understand this weekly newspaper discussion as the first step in clarifying opinions and overcoming selectionism. A truly complete and objective literary critical evaluation must be performed by experts.

However, I do not think that the level of deformations could cause such chaos in criteria that we would now have to make a reevaluation by turning everything inside out and the other way around. We have learned enough from past events to steer clear of the extremes. Returning and appraising the works taht have been neglected must be an inseperable part of the process of strengthening literary values, the basic criterion of which are the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist artistic creation.

The issue of the writers who, for various reasons, remained outside social and literary events and who did not publish is connected with this. Last year, at the October meeting of the SCS committee, we discussed this question and we are of the opinion that nothing stands in the way of conditions being created for their return to literature with the possibility of publishing their works in harmony with the contemporary citizen's stance. I wish to point out that membership in the SCS is still not connected with this act. The SCS committee also discussed the activities of writer-emigrants and writers living in internal exile and recommends that their work be appraised and differentiated. In this connection, Michal Cernik said, among other things, that the SCS committee is at the same time setting the commission for literary science and criticism the task of conducting a critical analysis of this literature. We do not want to create a campaign out of this affair. The steps we are undertaking today to overcome selectionism and to normalize relations are a sufficient motivation for these authors to again consider their stance toward society, toward our literature, and to realize the possibility of their choice. In the report on the 10th meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee it is precisely stated: "Our society will not renounce any artist as long as he himself does not renounce society and does not turn his back on it."

The shaping of the new awareness of literature is the affair not only of our union but also of the mass media and propaganda, of publishing houses and specialist scientific workplaces. It must be projected in literary critical practice and in publishing practice. First and foremost, it will be necessary to think about the publication of supplemented

literary manuals and dictionaries and about the new preparation of textbooks and histories of literature. In contemporary Czech literature we are striving for the integration of all healthy creative forces whose program is in harmony with socialist interests.

Impact of Single European Market Examined

AU2203150489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Mar 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Roundtable Discussion on EEC Single Market"]

[Text] Prague—Frans Engering, director general of foreign economic relations in the Ministry of Economy of the Kingdom of The Netherlands, and Czechoslovak economic representatives discussed in Prague on Monday [20 March] economic issues connected with the introduction of the West European single market in 1992 and the impact of this on economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and The Netherlands.

F. Engering stressed that the change under preparation is intended to strengthen the economic positions of EEC member countries, increasingly threatened in the recent period by competition from the United States and Japan, but also from certain other, primarily Asian, countries. The establishment of the single market will understandably affect relations between EEC countries and other states, including socialist states. Both prices and other factors, for instance norms, will be standardized within the framework of the community. Those partners who are well prepared for these changes in time, will best be able to assert themselves in economic cooperation with the EEC.

The Czechoslovak side was represented at the roundtable discussion by representatives of our production, foreign trade, banking, research, and university-level schools, and also by Frantisek Pavelka and Jiri Nemec, federal deputy ministers of finance and foreign trade respectively. Lambert d'Ansembourg, ambassador of the Kingdom of The Netherlands, was also present.

Fischer Toasts Uruguayan Foreign Minister

AU2203124789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Mar 89 p 6

[Toast by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer at a dinner hosted for Uruguayan Foreign Minister Dr Luis Barrio Tassano in Berlin on 20 March: "GDR Supports All Steps Toward the Peace Process in Central America"]

[Text] Dear Mr Minister,
Dear Mrs Raquel Osacar de Barrios Tassano,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Comrades and friends,

Permit me, Mr Minister, to cordially welcome you and your wife and entourage among us once again. Your visit bears eloquent witness to the continuity of relations between our two states. It will certainly give new impetus to the further development of our friendly relations and contribute to strengthening mankind's determination to solve basic questions.

The GDR has helped initiate the turn from confrontation to detente in international relations. We work perseveringly to make the world of today increasingly understand that, regardless of the differences or contrasts in their interests, states with different social orders can and may compete with each other only in a peaceful way. The destruction of the intermediate-range missiles of the United States and the USSR is the first promising step toward completely eliminating weapons of mass destruction. Disarmament must now become increasingly dynamic. The halving of the number of strategic offensive weapons of the United States and the USSR, a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, and the termination of all nuclear tests are most important here.

This development confirms that even the most complicated questions can be solved with reason and realism if the legitimate interests of all parties involved are taken into account. For example, detente and disarmament have to become permanent. If we succeed in this, it will be possible to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, and peace and cooperation all over the world will no longer be a dream. Detente instead of confrontation, disarmament instead of arms buildup, the inability to attack instead of deterrence are imperative. Security is only possible together, and no longer against one another.

A few days ago, new negotiations started in Vienna. Their objective is conventional disarmament and increasing confidence from the Atlantic to the Urals—probably the region with the highest density of troops and weapons of all kinds. Nobody ought to be capable of surprise attacks.

Moreover, the GDR is especially interested in eliminating tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. We advocate and support all efforts the world over to create regions free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. We regard this as an important step to eliminate them globally. Last year, the International Meeting for Nuclear-Free Zones here in Berlin served this purpose. We presented projects for a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical weapons-free zone in central Europe, and proposed the creation of a zone of confidence and security.

Mr Minister, this year brings the 75th anniversary of the start of World War I and the 50th anniversary of World War II.

The socialist German state—at the dividing line between the most powerful military coalitions of history—staunchly acts in accordance with the commitment set by the struggle against fascism and war, that is, that war must never again emanate from German soil. The agreed withdrawal of Soviet Armed Forces from our territory, the unilateral reduction of our National People's Army by 10,000 men by the end of 1990, and the 10-percent cut in defense costs contribute to further improving the climate on our European Continent, as do the advance concessions of the other Warsaw Pact states. With good reason, the peoples now expect NATO to react with adequate decisions to the Warsaw Pact states' numerous moves of goodwill. This includes giving up the doctrine of nuclear deterrence and renouncing any rearmament—including hidden rearmament—as well as modernization. The other side must not only propagate new thinking and acting, but also practice this itself.

This also applies to joint efforts to solve other global problems, for example the necessary democratization in international economic relations, the elimination of underdevelopment, hunger, illiteracy, poverty, and dangers to the environment.

In Europe the idea of a common European home is becoming increasingly popular. Only ultrareactionaries cannot see anything positive in the peaceful coexistence of states and peoples. Therefore they do everything to disrupt this process. Apparently they now want to replace the military option of repressing socialism, which is no longer open to them, with various manipulations and increased agitation to destabilize it politically, ideologically, and economically, as recent statements show. This is a hopeless but dangerous game which nobody can win, but which may bring an end to the peaceful coexistence of peoples; thus, neo-Nazis are again in conformity with the Constitution and capable of forming coalitions.

Mr Minister, ladies and gentlemen, the GDR appreciates Uruguay's activities for peace, disarmament, and development, and thus for the peaceful cooperation between peoples. Uruguay is a signatory state to the Tlatelolco Treaty, which created the world's first nuclear-free zone more than 20 years ago. We emphatically support your government's commitment to a nuclear-free zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic.

The GDR generally welcomes all recent efforts to settle regional conflicts peacefully. Providing the opportunity for peaceful development to all regions of the world is worth any effort.

Thus, we are filled with satisfaction that the process of negotiations on the peaceful settlement of conflicts has also been reactivated in Central America on the basis of the Esquipulas Agreement. The uncompromising attitude of the Sandinist government of Nicaragua has greatly contributed to this.

The GDR will continue to support all moves that advance the peace process in this region. It equally appreciates Uruguay's persevering activities to solve the crisis in Central America as a member of the group supporting Contadora.

We can state with satisfaction that the relations between the GDR and the Republic of Uruguay are developing successfully. Our talks today, Mr Minister, confirm the lively interest of both sides in using the remaining reserves for bilateral cooperation. The great extent of agreement on the vital questions of mankind consolidates the firm foundation that can be used for this.

Your visit, Mr Minister, is followed with great attention in our country; it will contribute to establishing even closer ties between the two states and peoples.

Dear guests, I ask you to raise your glasses with me and drink to

—a peaceful future,
—the friendly relations between the GDR and the Republic of Uruguay,
—the personal well-being of the minister and his esteemed wife,
—and the health of all of you!

Stoph Receives DPRK Official for Talks

LD2203161889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1427 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Gong Nam-il, first deputy chairman of the DPRK Second Economic Committee, acknowledged the continually deepening relations between the GDR and the DPRK today in Berlin. According to the interlocutors, close cooperation should be further developed in all spheres.

Willi Stoph stressed the significance of safeguarding peace for the implementation of the demanding economic and social tasks of the GDR. In the future the GDR will stick consistently to its policy of result-oriented dialogue with all forces of peace and reason.

Gong Nam-il referred to the DPRK's initiatives for safeguarding peace and for the consolidation of detente on the Korean peninsula and in Asia. The country is thus making its contribution to the peace offensive of the socialist states and all forces of peace.

Kleiber Receives CSSR Agriculture Minister

AU2303110189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Guenther Kleiber, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo, received CSSR Agriculture Minister Jaromir Algayer for a talk in Berlin on Tuesday [21 March]. The minister conveyed cordial greetings from Ladislav Adamec, head of the CSSR Government, which were returned by Guenther Kleiber in kind.

The partners in the talk paid tribute to the close, friendly relations between the GDR and the CSSR. They noted with satisfaction that cooperation in the field of agriculture and the foodstuffs industry is developing successfully to the benefit of both sides. This is an important contribution to the worthy preparation for the 12th SED Congress and the 18th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress. They stressed the traditional cooperation in strengthening the material-technical base of agriculture, as is demonstrated in the field of agricultural machinery construction.

They agreed on further intensifying their joint work. In this connection, increasing attention is being paid to the application of key technologies in crop production and new solutions involving methods for livestock production.

Minister Bruno Lietz and Ambassador Frantisek Langer participated in the talk.

TANJUG Director Talks With Herrmann

AU2203124089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—TANJUG Director General Mihailo Saranovic, in the GDR for talks with ADN, was received by Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, on Monday [20 March]. During the meeting, the guest was briefed on topical questions of the GDR's domestic and foreign policy in successfully implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. The partners in the talk paid tribute to the many years of good cooperation between the news agencies of the two states and their role in deepening the friendly relations between the GDR and the SFRY. ADN Director General Guenter Poetschke and Milan Predojevic, SFRY ambassador to the GDR, were present.

World Bank, IMF Accused of 'Exploitation'
AU2403095689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Mar 89 p 2

["W.M." commentary: "Criminal Statistics"]

[Text] Among the most terrible criminal statistics we find the annual balance sheets of the World Bank and the IMF on the foreign debts of the developing countries. Even though they list only financial and economic data and do not provide any figures on starvation, the victims of epidemics, the unemployed, homeless, and illiterates, or on the mortality of children and mothers in the poorest countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, all this is found in the cold and sober figures of the balance sheets. The richest imperialist states which have the authority in the World Bank and IMF are raising the pile of debts to ever greater heights. In other words: They are sucking more and more wealth from poverty.

For the 1988 business year an increase of debts by $39 billion to $1,320 billion is now reported. Thus, the debts of these countries have reached 50 percent of their gross national product—half of what the majority of mankind creates within 1 year! Since 1982 the amount of liabilities has doubled, and the rates of repayment have even tripled. Those who want to know where the $1,320 billion went need not look in the developing countries, but in the metropolises of capital.

The most marked exploitation by the imperialist states is taking place in black Africa. With 6.5 percent, the increase in debts in 1988 was twice as high as for the developing countries as a whole. Liabilities are three to five times as high as the total export revenues of these countries.

The World Bank, however, sees positive signs when looking back to 1988. Pure cynicism and mockery are the substantiation given for this: The relationship between creditors and debtors has become less tense. Moreover, it has been possible to turn obligations into capital shares in enterprises belonging to the debtor countries. For 1989 the robbers recommend to those who are being robbed that they consistently continue the so-called adjustment programs—that is, continued total dependence on the imperialist monopolies.

At its recent conference in Geneva, the UN Human Rights Commission dealt with the right of the countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to development and an appropriate standard of living. Why was it that the United States, the FRG, and Great Britain previously voted against such a debate?

Justice Minister on Elections, Crime Rate
AU2403102489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Mar 89 p 2

[Excerpts] Jueterborg (ADN)—The close connection in terms of subject and time between the elections of deputies and judges is an expression of the unity of the exercise of political power by the people's representative bodies and the judiciary. This was affirmed by Hans-Joachim Heusinger, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of justice, in a talk with candidates for the local elections as well as members of arbitration committees and jurors in the Smith and Locksmith Artisan Producer Cooperative in Treuenbrietzen on Wednesday [22 March].

In addition to the directors and judges of 234 kreis courts, about 57,000 jurors are to be elected in the GDR, the minister announced. [passage omitted]

Answering a question by citizen Helmut Paepke about the development of crime, the minister explained that with 719 crimes per 100,000 citizens, the GDR is among the countries with the lowest crime rates. He pointed out that 50 percent of the crimes are offenses against social and personal property. Most of them can be punished without terms of imprisonment.

Grosz Concludes Visit to Moscow, Returns Home

Departs 24 Mar

LD2403215189 Budapest MTI in English 1927 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 24 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, returned to Budapest from Moscow on Friday evening. Mr Grosz was accompanied on the visit by Laszlo Major, head of the Central Committee office, and Gyula Thurmer, foreign policy advisor of the general secretary.

Mr Grosz and his party were met at Ferihegy airport by Pal Ivanyi, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, Geza Kotai, member of the Central Committee and head of the Department for International Party Relations of the Central Committee, and Emil Kimmel, deputy leader of the Central Committee office.

Also present was Vladlen Puntus, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Budapest Embassy of the Soviet Union.

Grosz Statement Aboard Plane

LD2403232189 Budapest MTI in English 2207 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 24 (MTI)—On the flight home from his working visit to Moscow, Karoly Grosz gave a statement to the correspondents accompanying him on board the airplane. In answer to the question of MTI's correspondent, on whether he would become the leader of the group of communist MPs [members of parliament] in Hungarian parliament, the general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party said:

'Matyas Szuros was the leader of the group until his election as speaker of the National Assembly. He will also have to be relieved of his function as secretary of the Central Committee, and that could take place at next week's Central Committee session. The Central Committee can recommend the general secretary to head the group, but the view of the communist MPs has to be requested on the issue. It is a tradition in the multi-party system political structure, that the leader of the party, or the deputy, also head the parliamentary group. We are of the opinion that we should try out this practice until the elections, which means a year and half or even less. The fact that the general secretary accepts to lead the group of MPs is, actually, an indication of the importance we attach to cooperation with the MPs.'

Notes Gorbachev's Openness

LD2503093189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Text] In connection with his talks in Moscow yesterday, Karoly Grosz considers the fact that he found extraordinary openness, honesty, and confidence on the part of Mikhail Gorbachev most important. The general secretary, on his way home gave a statement to the staff member of NEPSZABADSAG. He said that at the working discussion they established that for both sides the success of the changes taking place in the country is very important.

At the same time, the Soviet official tried to get an answer on whether the process of the Hungarian transformation is too rapid. He also asked whether the Hungarian leadership came under political pressure. At the meeting Karoly Grosz, pointed out that the multiparty system is needed on the basis of society's demand, and he highlighted that the shaping of the new structure is the country's internal affair.

Foreign Ministry News Conference Reported

LD2403130489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Istvan Kulcsar reports from the news conference given by the spokesman at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry:

[Kulcsar] Istvan Komoroczky first announced the forthcoming visit to Hungary by the Uruguayan and South Korean foreign ministers. Then he read a statement in connection with the Romanian Government's reaction to the Hungarian statement at the UN Human Rights Committee in Geneva.

[Begin Komoroczky recording] Our stand in international diplomacy provoked an unusually vehement Romanian reaction. In his speech at Geneva, the Romanian representative accused Hungary of following, so to say, revisionist aims and of sowing discord among peoples according to old political practices. Contrary to the Romanian accusations, the Hungarian Government is striving for normal cooperation with Romania. It has taken a stand in the interests of the nearly 2-million-strong Magyardom that lives in Romania, so that they can stay on the soil of their ancestors; preserve their language, traditions, and culture; find their well being; and fulfill a connecting role in the relations of the two neighboring countries. [end recording]

[Kulcsar] The spokesman also said that in principle, he considers it a positive move that the Romanian side raised the subject of the situation of Romanians in Hungary, for this is in harmony with the principles approved at the Vienna follow-up talks, under the terms of which Hungary can also raise the subject of the Magyardom in Romania. The Hungarian Government wishes to discuss these questions with the Romanian side, but without preconditions. This was followed by questions from correspondents.

[Begin recording] [Kulcsar] Istvan Kulcsar, Hungarian Radio. Agency reports from Bucharest have noted that on 15 March the Romanian authorities ordered that the national song, which was displayed in the window of the Hungarian Embassy, be taken down. Is this true?

[Komoroczky] Unfortunately the news is true. This really did happen. On 17 March, one of the competent officials at the Romanian Foreign Ministry, [name indistinct], called on the official for cultural affairs at the Hungarian Embassy and informed him that the Romanian Foreign Ministry was requesting that we remove Sandor Petoefi's national song from the embassy window facing the street. This is a very important element of the 15 March celebrations.

This Romanian demand caused great amazement and incomprehension. It was issued with reference to an earlier decree, which regulates the propaganda activity of the diplomatic representations operating in Romania.

We raised the Romanian measure through diplomatic channels, as a measure that runs contrary to bilateral relations and seriously offends Hungarian national feelings. [end recording]

[Kulcsar] Replying to further questions, the Foreign Ministry spokesman categorically denied that we are to establish any kind of official contacts with Taiwan. Not excluding the establishing of Hungarian-Chilean consular relations, he also said it was possible that Hungarian-Vatican diplomatic relations could be restored. He further said that the restoration of full Hungarian-Israeli diplomatic relations cannot be expected in the nearest future; he later corrected this to the coming weeks.

Replying to another question, Istvan Komoroczky indirectly confirmed that Premier Miklos Nemeth had told 'Arafat during the course of their talks that Hungary is prepared to host a Middle East peace conference.

Further on News Briefing

LD2403222189 Budapest MTI in English
2143 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 24 (MTI)—The right of the Hungarian National Assembly to table no-confidence in the prime minister, the government, and the individual ministers, and the relevant draft of the Ministry of Justice, were discussed and approved by the Hungarian Government at its session on Friday. Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan, and Gyula Borics, secretary of state of the Ministry of Justice, said at the international press conference following the session that according to the conception to be submitted to the legal committee of parliament, 100 MP's, which is fewer than one-third of the MP's, can table no-confidence to be followed by secret vote. If the motion concerns the person of the prime minister, it will automatically also refer to the entire government, Mr Borics said.

Mr Marosan was asked what the prime minister meant by "irreversible steps" with regard to the Nagymaros barrage. Clarification was considered necessary as the remark of the prime minister made in the first part of the March session of parliament was widely misinterpreted. At present, preparatory works of digging the bed and dredging gravel are being carried out, but concreting would be irreversible.

Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth also held out the prospect of examining the possibility of a referendum on the fate of the barrage. At present, appraising the costs of the investment and the preparation of the law on referenda are simultaneously in progress. Both will be submitted to parliament in June.

According to the bill being prepared on referenda, parliament will consider the possibility of announcing a referendum if there are 50,000 signatures, and a referendum will be announced if there are 100,000 or more signatures.

Mr Marosan said that the burial of Imre Nagy and his colleagues will be held on June 16, on the request of relatives. The government has every intention that the funeral should be undisturbed.

MSZMP Central Committee To Meet 29 Mar

LD2403230189 Budapest MTI in English
1931 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 24 (MTI)—The session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] has been summoned for March 29.

On the basis of a proposal by the Political Committee, the body is to create its position on the development of political publicity and the political guidelines of the law on information, and on the principles of the party's press policy and the development of the party press. The theme will be presented by Janos Berecz, secretary of the Central Committee. According to the HSWP's opinion, political publicity and the reform of information policy are indispensable conditions of the democratization of the system of political institutions and the replacement of the press law currently in force by a law on information is therefore justified.

The Central Committee is to also hear a report in the presentation of Janos Lukacs, secretary of the Central Committee, on the debate over the reform of the political system, held within the party. The report proposes to amend the earlier draft position created at the February 10-11 session of the Central Committee and put to party debate.

As the third point on the agenda, Mr Lukacs will inform the body on the preparations for the 12th congress of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary.

The Central Committee will be briefed on the March 15 ceremonies, several latest events in the international activity of the HSWP, and will decide, on the basis of the proposal of the Political Committee, to set up a Gyorgy Lukacs foundation.

The Central Committee will also discuss personnel issues, in the presentation of HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz.

Pozsgay Interviewed on Party, Government Work

AU2403114589 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 24 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and minister of state, by Peter Martos: "The Struggle Will Continue Until Purification Is Brought About"; date, place not given]

[Text] DIE PRESSE: Mr Pozsgay, your colleague Rezso Nyers was a Social Democrat prior to the party's forced merger with the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. He has recently stated that he wants to remain a member of the MSZMP despite the fact that he is sympathetic to the program of the newly reemerged Social Democrats. You are said to have similar feelings, so what about your loyalty to the MSZMP?

[Pozsgay] There is an important difference: Reszo Nyers has a political past outside the MSZMP, while I for my part have gained all my experience within the party. I do not want to abandon the party. However, I would not accept a turnabout in the direction of Stalinism. If the power structures developed in this direction, I would certainly abandon the movement. This does not mean, however, that I would withdraw from politics.

I currently believe that the party will be able to expand the reform-minded wing into a center and, liberated from Stalinist bonds, bring about a certain caesura. In my view, the party can work out an attractive program for society. It could then participate in Hungary's public life not only as a power factor but also as a competitive force. I hope that this will happen.

[Martos] What happens if the masses abandon the party?

[Pozsgay] The idea of 'abandonment' has established itself in my mind. There is something to that idea. What we should abandon is the traditionalist, fundamentalist, and Stalinist wing. The MSZMP can then acquire the identity of a truly European democratic party. It will then define socialism in the following way: Socialism is primarily democracy that forces the leaders to adopt a social policy and a program that lead to prosperity and to human freedom. I hope that the majority of the 800,000 party members will chose this line. We will see what differences there will be between the program of the reformed MSZMP and that of the Social Democrats.

[Martos] So you do not foresee the danger that the parties, including the MSZMP, Social Democrats, the Smallholders Party, and others, will forget what they are struggling for due to the conflict between generations.

[Pozsgay] This is apparently necessary during the present process of rebirth. Blindness and forgetting will prevail for some time. However, the MSZMP may be the first party to realize that national responsibility must be placed at the center, and not personal struggles. This struggle will continue until purification is achieved.

[Martos] Was it not this situation which prompted Hungary to introduce the concept of two state ministers who should together govern along with the premier, independently of the parties?

[Pozsgay] There is no doubt that this was one of the reasons. However, in this connection it must also be considered that they must be "men of reconciliation" who communicate with the different political currents and independent movements.

[Martos] How does the government work at the structural level?

[Pozsgay] An inner cabinet has formed within the government, which, besides the premier, includes the state ministers, the deputy premier, and the interior and foreign ministers. This structure has increased our possibilities of pursuing policies, as opposed to the previous government which was purely administrative and whose task it was to manage production. I accepted this post only on this condition. The state minister should not be responsible for a specific ministry. His task is to establish social contacts, to maintain relations with parliament, and to shape the relationship between the people and the government.

Therefore, I am very pleased about the fact that my colleague Reszo Nyers contributes to fulfilling this task with his knowledge in the sphere of economics and his extensive political experiences. As a result, the government can increasingly act as a political center. This means that it must also think about possible coalition partners.

[Martos] Does this mean in practical terms that this "inner cabinet" dissociates itself from the party?

[Pozsgay] Yes, this was the underlying idea: The so-called analogous system of decisions that in reality paralyzed the government's work can no longer be maintained. The practice was that the Politburo adopted a decision, which was then "nationalized" by the government.

The first cautious steps toward changing this system have been taken. However, we have so far spent our time trying to organize ourselves. Now it is about time to produce something.

[Martos] What measures are planned for implementing the "political package" that you presented to parliament in October?

[Pozsgay] They primarily concern the law on parties and the law on referendums. This has become urgent because the government is examining the possibility of holding a referendum on the Nagymaros hydroelectric project, and because plebiscites are necessary for adopting a constitution and for electing a president of the Republic. I will also urge the government to decide on the press and information law, for the freedom of the press that already exists must be officially guaranteed. In addition to this, there are plans for a law on the freedom of conscience and freedom of religion, the preparatory work for which must also be concluded by the end of this year. A number of minor laws and amendments affect the field of the economy. (The right to strike that Pozsgay announced in the interview was adopted on Wednesday [22 March], as DIE PRESSE reported—the editors).

[Martos] How can a future constitution be prepared and recommended by a parliament that has been elected on the basis of the present Constitution? Does this not shed a bad light on Hungary's democracy?

[Pozsgay] What people remember today is the enforcement of the tax laws and the decision concerning the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros power plant on the Danube, despite the fact that this legislative body also adopted the law on the right of assembly corresponding to the "European level" according to the Association of Free Democrats; it adopted the law on economic associations, and in my view it will also pass the press and information law without problems....

[Martos] It also adopted the previous press law that now has to be revised after 6 months.

[Pozsgay] Yes, unfortunately. These are precisely the things that increase doubts—and the fact that this is a parliament with a 75-percent MSZMP majority.

Several proposals have been submitted as to which method is best suited for adopting the new constitution. However, I think that one must take into consideration political developments. This includes the "biology" of the parliament. The fourth Russian Duma, for example, was Europe's most reactionary parliament, and in 1917, when things changed in Russia, it adopted all the revolutionary laws within 5 minutes....

Europarliament Condemns Romanian Violations

AU2003153489 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Mar 89 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] In its decision of 16 March, the European Parliament [EP] condemned the human rights violations in Romania. At the same time, the body decided that, under the current circumstances, negotiations with Bucharest on signing a new trade and cooperation agreement would not be renewed. [passage omitted]

The recent decision by the EP has been without parallel in the history of modern-day international relations. Thus, this demonstrates the fact that this body is faced with a situation without parallel in Europe over the past decades. The justification for the aforementioned decision does not conceal this at all: The conditions prevailing in Romania are simply unworthy of our civilization and Europe. Tens of thousands of people are forced to leave their homeland, close to 8,000 villages are threatened with destruction, and human rights are totally disregarded.

They act as if the Helsinki document did not even exist: Strikes and any other forms of protest are brutally dispersed by means of the ruthless secret police. Therefore, the EP this time could not simply limit itself to condemning these violations and expressing solidarity, but it also took steps suitable for a particular (and particularly tragic) situation. One of the measures calls for the member governments to strip President Ceausescu and his entire family, as well as other representatives of his regime, of their decorations and other honors (such as their honorary degrees...)

This is the first time that a collective body of European countries has been forced to take such a step, and this in itself evinces more than anything else the international isolation that those in power in Bucharest have brought upon themselves.

Social Democratic Party Internal Politics Viewed

LD2403155289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] The Social Democratic Party held a news conference this morning. Jozsef Orosz reports:

[Orosz] The Social Democratic Party has managed in form to avoid a party split. Although the remaining founding members have distanced themselves from the so-called Six, they still elected them into the just-formed party organizing committee.

The preceding events: The party issued a statement in which they attack the Six, among them chairman Andras Revesz, because on 15 March this group expropriated the leadership of the party and, in the name of the party, participated in the official ceremony in the museum gardens. Moreover, together with the Ferenc Munnich Society they laid wreaths at the Batthanyi eternal flame. On 6 March, at the talks held with the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], the Six impermissibly proposed a coalition and in a short time evaluated the MSZMP as a fraternal party. The Six arbitrarily changed the program that had been accepted at the March Social Democratic Party conference and

announced the formation of a provisional presidium without consulting the membership. On the basis of trumped-up charges, they made attempts to expel several founding members.

But, in order for the whole thing not to look as if the Social Democratic Party is compromising itself, it is returning to the situation of 9 January 1989, to the then renewal of the party. So, in order to legitimate the party, everything is being started again by taking the condemned Six, including party chairman Andras Revesz, back into the organizing committee.

The party statement said that the Social Democratic Party distances itself from every intellectual current; it is prepared to cooperate, but not to have talks on a coalition; and it sees itself in the short term as a constructive opposition party. However, the statement just issued does not deal with the party's internal democracy.

(Laszlo Gy Toth), one of the founding members submitted his letter of resignation, dated today, in which he writes: I do not have a place in a party in which one of the Presidium members threatens to report those arguing with him to the police and to Gyorgy Fejti. The individual who wishes to leave, does not agree with the so-called sweeping out policy, that is, out of the party with the Communists, for if they took this seriously, then the party chairman's son would also have to be expelled because he was a member of the MSZMP for 15 years.

The party will hold another national meeting 29 April. It will transpire then whether there will still be a Social Democratic Party, and if so, what kind.

'Crisis' in Party

LD2403234189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Excerpt] This is the second time in the life the newly revived Social Democratic Party of Hungary [MSZDP] that the minority has expelled the majority, and many are already speaking about a break in the party.

There is no question of a break, spokesman Gabor Szilagyi declared, despite the fact that he himself and those sitting next to him received a letter a few days ago in which they were told that they are not members of the MSZDP. The letter was signed by Chairman Andras Revesz and some members of the organizational committee elected at the time of the party's revival. The signatories consider themselves to be a provisional presidium and, it was emphasized at the briefing, they have assumed the leadership of the party. So what is happening in the MSZDP?

[Unidentified speaker] Naturally we are talking about a crisis here. Our elderly friends do not trust the young, they do not trust each other either and it follows from this that there is a need for great patience in the organization of the party. [passage omitted]

Revesz Recognized as Chairman

LD2503015289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] In the view of the majority of the founding members of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary a narrow group has expropriated the party's leadership in an authoritaritarian fashion which has created an adverse reaction both in the party membership and public opinion. Therefore the agile party organizational process started at the party's revival has come to a halt and by now it endangers the appropriate prevalance of the weight of the social democratic movement.

The party recognizes as its legal body the organizational committee formed out of founding members through self-initiating organization, the local leaderships elected democratically in the districts and provinces, and as its chairman, Andras Revesz.

Lawyers Appeal to Independent Organizations

AU2303135589 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 21 Mar 89 p 5

["Comprehensive Change Is a Basic Condition for National Survival—Appeal of the Independent Lawyers' Forum to Independent Political Organizations In Hungary"]

[Text]

I

However tragic it may be for the people affected and painful for many honest people, and however difficult it may be "to admit the past," for the benefit of our nation's future we must declare that the large-scale historical experiment launched in 1917 under the slogan "socialist construction" has failed under the weight of the challenge of the new global technological revolution that has occurred in the last decades of our century. The fact that the countries in question have uniformly fallen behind the world's vanguard proves the inability of this venture, rather than the lack of ability of any given leadership. Therefore, only a radical modification of the entire social, economic, and political order can create the chances for catching up with the world.

It should be clear that there can be no economic development without changing the political conditions that hamstring society and the economy; therefore, as a first step, we should change the political structure.

In Hungary's current situation, a comprehensive change has already become the basic condition of national survival; therefore, as a result of the reflex of national self-defense, a political change will necessarily occur sooner or later, either by force or without. As the distance between Hungary and the developed countries is increasing daily, there is no time to lose. At the same time, as long as there is the slightest chance of it, every rational man and all responsible political forces should strive to make sure that this inevitable change occurs without violence.

II

One thing is certain: The Hungarian nation will undergo a complete change in one way or another, and therefore, it is impossible to stipulate conditions by means of compromises made over the heads of the people, but society should already be involved in formulating the new rules of the game.

It is a bitter truth that living conditions will improve only following the political changes and as a direct result of these changes. However, after the well-known historical precedent, in the current situation, the Hungarian people will only accept this if they themselves create the conditions, either directly or by means of their competent organizations.

It is a particular contradiction that the laws aimed precisely at eliminating the existing power structure should be created within the framework of the existing power structure at the given time. According to the Independent Lawyers' Forum, this will be possible only if, as a first step in dismantling the existing power structure, a representational body replaces the current National Assembly.

We do not want to evade the following question: Is there any hope of the change that is so essential for national survival taking place in a nonviolent form? We think that there is.

Our confidence seems to be justified by the following fact: while, in the wake of repeated crises that emerged from time to time in the 70-year history of this system, even if it did condemn "the distortions," the power group that emerged in the communist party continued to present the party lines of "socialist construction" as unquestionable, what is characteristic of the current Hungarian crisis is the fact that even the representatives of power have lost confidence in the ability of this system to function.

III

What can the independent political organizations and parties do to bring about a nonviolent change?

They should do their utmost to accelerate the process of self-organization in our society, including the development of independent features for their own organization and party, the broad dissemination of their program, and an increase in their mass base.

They should refrain from any political step (such as a premature coalition with the government, unilateral compromises, and pseudo-negotiations) that would reduce the prestige of the given organization.

They should overcome as quickly as possible the growing pains that are inevitable in the initial stages of an organization and which are connected with personal conflicts, and should create internal unity within these organizations by means of principled compromises achieved on the basis of an essential identity of views.

Starting from the premise that, in the current situation, there is a fundamental identity of interests among these independent organizations and that their interests are in harmony with the interests of the whole nation, it is both necessary and a moral imperative to gradually coordinate views on major issues.

On the basis of an objective identity of interests and by means of a deliberately developed solidarity, these organizations should stop the government's attempts, both open and concealed, to divide.

As long as the strengthened society does not take its fate into its own hands, we should exert constant pressure on the institutional government by means of a previously coordinated and uniform stand, to make sure that the government really involves society in decisions and consistently implements the changes.

The Independent Lawyers Forum proposes that, guided by their awareness of historical responsibility, the independent political organizations and parties in Hungary should immediately start negotiations through their competent political leaders and in order to implement the aforementioned goals, and they should strive to work out a common position on basic issues that await an urgent solution, primarily the issues of the election rights and the new Constitution.

The Independent Lawyers Forum offers to organize these negotiations and contribute, to the best of its knowledge and in an independent and objective way, in coordinating the opinions and professionally formulating these coordinated opinions.

x x x

On the basis of the authority given by the general meeting of 19 March, the officials of the Association of Free Democrats sent the following letter to the Independent Lawyers Forum:

The Association of Free Democrats welcomes your initiative to establish a roundtable of independent organizations. We also consider it an essential requirement to create a common position of democratic forces and, based on this, to negotiate with the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the party in power. We believe that only jointly can we represent our society's awakening from its lethargy. We feel that society also expects us to be able to cooperate, by preserving our own feature.

We accept your invitation with thanks, and we thank you for your organizational activity so far and for your offer to provide professional assistance during the proposed negotiations.

Appointments Made at 22-23 Mar Sejm Session

Youth Minister Presents Bills

LD2203210789 Warsaw PAP in English
1518 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—Acting upon the authorization of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Minister Aleksander Kwasniewski presented the following bills: the law on associations, on amending the law on trade unions and on trade unions of private farmers.

These draft laws describe the conditions of implementing democratic freedoms in our state, expand the rights of citizens to associate freely in associations and trade unions. They are a very meaningful part of the process of reforms being pursued at different pace and in various conditions, but always with consistency, Kwasniewski said.

The "roundtable" debates accelerate processes of reforms, the participation of opposition milieus, "Solidarity," the OPZZ, [National Trade Union Confederation] all the forces of our coalition allow one to state that we will introduce historic changes with common consent, in conditions of national agreement.

The presented draft laws are the fruit of painstaking discussions in "roundtable" teams. Their shape is the outcome of a consensus of representations of social and political forces taking part in this unprecedented event. I am tabling them to the Sejm with the hope that the special procedure of work on the bills and the tight timetable will be understood and backed by the deputies.

The creation of a new order always entails the risk of mistakes being made. However, not taking this risk would have been the gravest mistake, Kwasniewski continued.

Minister Kwasniewski next stated that the proposed amendments to the law on trade unions would boil down to two basic elements: changing the existing or introducing new entries lifting limitations in the freedom to create and associate in trade unions (so-called union freedom) and adjusting some regulations to the diversity of trade unions. It creates the possibility to create new trade unions, including the legalization of "Solidarity." It determines the rights and obligations of trade unions, in setting up a joint representation at the workplace, working out a common stance on matters which under the law call for agreements between trade unions and the bodies of enterprises.

The draft amendments do not breach the regulations on the basis of which trade unions were formed and operate. Their organizational identity has been respected. In no case does the change of law coerce them to change their organizational structure, in other words the freedom to shape it.

Referring to the possibilities to create trade unions of private farmers, Kwasniewski stated that this would enrich the existing forms of the organization of farmers with a view to defend their rights and interests. It will be a practical expression of the implementation of the principle of trade union pluralism also in the field of agriculture.

Next Minister Kwasniewski spoke about the need to pass a new law on associations which would replace the decree of the president of the Republic of Poland, in force since 1932, regulating the sphere of civil activities.

The essence of the new law on associations is to create through the association movement conditions for expressing the pluralistic character of Polish society, its political, world-outlook and socio-professional diversity.

In line with the provisions of the draft law on associations, every association which declares a concordance of action with the Polish Constitution and legal order determined on the basis of laws, will be registered.

Despite lack of consent on the part of the opposition side, we motion for the ZHP Polish Pathfinders' Union to retain exclusiveness in the range of name, symbolics and boy scouts' uniform. In our opinion the principles of education call for this. Schools cannot and should not be a place of competition between multifarious political and world-outlook currents, of transferring the matters of adults to the world of children, Kwasniewski pointed out.

Committees Elect Chairmen

LD2303212289 Warsaw PAP in English
1832 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—The three extraordinary Sejm committees, set up March 22, were constituted after the Sejm meeting today.

Deputy Tadeusz Szelachowski of the United Peasant Party was elected chairman of the extraordinary committee to examine a draft law to amend the Polish Constitution.

The extraordinary committee to examine draft regulations to elect the Sejm and the Senate elected Elzbieta Gacek of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] its chairwoman.

Deputy Jozef Barecki of the PUWP was elected chairman of the extraordinary committee to examine draft laws on associations and trade unions.

Minister of Labor Named

LD2303174989 Warsaw PAP in English 1530 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—On the second day of its debate, the Polish Sejm today appointed two ministers, heard a report on the activity of the constitutional tribunal and listened to answers to deputies' questions.

The sitting was opened this morning by Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowksi. Present were Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski took the floor on the changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers. He said: Last October 14, while presenting to the Sejm the lineup of the Council of Ministers, I said that I did not propose any condidate for the post of minister of labour and social policy as I intended an expert of independent circles to accept the offer. Efforts made in this respect failed. Meanwhile, persons I had in mind sat at the roundtable on the opposition-Solidarity side. One can hardly expect a citizen who recognizes himself as opposition to join a government built according to the principle of coalition.

In this situation, I decided to apply different, strictly professional criteria. As a result, I move today that Michal Czarski be appointed minister of labour and social policy.

Being convinced that the high chamber will accept the forwarded proposal, I would like to thank Undersecretary of State Jerzy Szreter for his heading the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy for a few months. At present, I would like to appoint him secretary of state in this ministry.

In its current and future activities, the government should attach more attention to constant partner-like cooperation with trade unions. The newest experiences, as well as those gained in 1981, show that creating the most favourable—for the socio-economic life of the country—relations between the state and economic administration and trade unions requires particular attention and careful and tactful control. Although each ministry is obliged to listen to trade unions' postulates and to positively settle the problems that can and must be settled, the government should comprise a minister responsible for the whole of cooperation with trade unions.

I would like to add that I intend to appoint a government committee for cooperation with trade unions. I propose to appoint Jozef Oleksy minister-member of the Council of Ministers.

Rakowski asked the Sejm to accept the presented proposals. The Sejm appointed Czarski minister of labour and social policy with one vote against and 31 abstentions, and Oleksy—minister-member of the Council of Ministers with two votes against and 35 abstentions.

Next, the Sejm heard a report on the activity of the constitutional tribunal presented by tribunal's Chairman Alfons Klafkowski.

Next, the Sejm meeting listened to answers by government representatives to deputies' questions. They concerned, among other issues, the supplies of basic machines necessary for mechanization of agriculture, the setting up of a nature reserve on the swamps of the Biebrza River unique on the European scale, credit preferences in building grain elevators, interest on bank deposits of social organizations, plans of the Ministry of Industry in tele-communications, the necessity to take actions to arrest further rise in book prices, insurances in agriculture.

The deputies' questions concerned also the growing threat to forests caused by pollution, installations protecting natural environment fixed in the Pruszkow-2 heat and power generating plant and prospects for solving the problem of ambulance cars. Then the Sejm two-day meeting ended.

Council of Ministers Decides on Polish Generals

AU2203151489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 89 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "The Council of Ministers Annuls Decision To Cancel Polish Citizenship"]

[Excerpts] At a 15 March meeting chaired by Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, the Council of Ministers revoked government resolutions adopted between 1946 and 1949 which deprived General Wladyslaw Anders, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Stanislaw Banczyk, Tomasz Kolakowski, and Stanislaw Wojcik of their Polish citizenship.

These resolutions have to be viewed in the context of the political situation in Poland at the time. This was a period full of a revolutionary character, a time of sharp political struggle between the left wing and the right wing, which developed into fratricidal bloodshed. People died on both sides of the barricade. The dividing line was clear. The Polish reactionary camp, the name given to those who opposed the new social order, was centered on General Wladyslaw Anders as a future liberator ("Anders will come to Poland on a white horse.") The circumstances in which General Anders and 75 other officers were stripped of Polish citizenship on one September day in 1946 show how careful one must be not to view outside the context of history past times and past figures who occupied a prominent place on the Polish political scene.

The purpose of the 26 September 1946 meeting of the Council of Ministers was to deprive 75 officers of their Polish citizenship. The list included 5 generals—Stanislaw Kopanski, Antoni Chrusciel, Stanislaw Maczek, Tadeusz Malinowski, and Karol Masny; plus 14 colonels, 26 lieutenant colonels, and 30 majors. The resolution reads: "Acting on the basis of Article 11 point 2, and Article 13 of the Polish Citizenship Act of 20 January

1920, the Council of Ministers, in session on 26 September 1946, decrees that the below-named soldiers of the former Polish Armed Forces in Great Britain are hereby deprived of their Polish citizenship as of 6 September 1946 for undergoing military service in a foreign country without permission from the relevant Polish authorities, and for holding public offices in those countries by joining the Polish Resettlement Corps, a paramilitary organization that is part of the British Army and is under British command, and by undertaking organizational and propaganda activity vis-a-vis other Polish soldiers, with a view to delaying their return to Poland, to the detriment of the interests of the Polish state and people."

At that Council of Ministers session, Deputy Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk said that the list of officers due to be deprived of citizenship did not include General Wladyslaw Anders. It so happens, said Mikolajczyk, that the chief guilty person is not affected by the resolution, whereas other good officers bear the consequences. This remark by Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, who was himself deprived of citizenship 1 year later following his escape from Poland, was taken into account, and the Council of Ministers adopted a second resolution which deprived Wladyslaw Anders of his citizenship. [passage omitted]

Stanislaw Mikolajczyk an activist of the Polish Socialist Party, was deprived of his citizenship by a 1947 Council of Ministers resolution that was ordered bv the Sejm. In 1949, again on the Sejm's orders, the Council of Ministers resolved to deprive S. Banczyk and S. Wojcik, also of the Polish Socialist Party; plus T. Kolakowski, of their citizenship. In both cases, the resolutions were signed by Premier Jozef Cyrankiewicz.

On 15 March 1989, the Council of Ministers, resolving to revoke the three abovementioned resolutions that deprived General W. Anders, S. Mikolajczyk, S. Banczyk, T. Kolakowski, and S. Wojcik of their Polish citizenship, ruled that not even acute political differences, which may neither be erased nor glossed over, should lead to the expulsion from the Polish civic community of persons who have rendered patriotic services. This stance also conforms to those of public opinion and of political and state bodies, especially the Sejm, State Council, United Peasant Party, combatants associations, and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

Although citizenship matters are now the business of the State Council, for over 40 years they were the business of the Council of Ministers. Therefore, only the Council of Ministers was able to revoke the decisions of the Council of Ministers of those times.

Public Prosecutor Rehabilitates General

LD1403233189 Warsaw PAP in English
2212 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—Gen August Fieldorf was born in Krakow in 1895. In the September campaign of 1939 he was in command of the 51st Eastern-Poland Infantry Regiment. After September 17 he reached France and following her defeat became the commander of the home army, Gen Leopold Okulicki. In March 1945 he was arrested under a false name and deported to the Soviet Union from where he returned incognito in October 1947. Two year later he was arrested once again and in April 1952 sentenced to death under a decree on "punishment for fascist-Nazi criminals and traitors of the Polish nation." The sentence was carried out on February 24, 1953. No one knows till this day where he rests. In 1972 the then Minister of National Defence Wojciech Jaruzelski funded a tombstone on his symbolic grave in Warsaw. Gen Fielddorf was awarded the Cross of the Courageous four times and SVirtuti Militari 5th class.

The newest issue of the TYGODNIK KULTURALNY carries the decision of General Public Prosecutor of Poland Jozef Zyta of March 7, 1989 on a change of the legal decision to discontinue the investigation into the case of August Emil Fieldorf. Having acquainted himself with the acts in the case, the general prosecutor decided to overrule the decision of 1958 in Fieldorf's favour by accepting tht the basis for the discontinuance was a statement that August Emil Fieldorf did not commit the crime which he was accused of. The decision of 1958 spoke of discontinuance of the investigation for lack of evidence of guilt.

In justifying his decision, the general public prosecutor states that the sentences passed on Fieldorf were based on testimony coerced in an inadmissable manner, without indepth and objective knowledge of the case. The documents in the files of the case, purportedly coming from the archives of the home army general headquarters, do not contain any documentation as to when or where they were from whom they were taken. [sentence as received]

"One should stress that August Emil Fieldorf was accused of 'backing the Nazi authorities' when in fact he fought in home army ranks against the Nazi occupier throughout (?the whole) war. The evidence gathered in the files goes to prove that this accusation was fully and obviously unwarranted which in turn is the premise to state that August Fieldorf did not commit the crime he was accused of," wrote Jozef Zyta, adding: "owing to this, in order to bear evidence of the innocence of this soldier and one of the high commanders of the home army, it was necessary to change the basis for discontinuing the penal (?proceedings) against him by [words indistinct] commit the crime he was accused of."

Jaruzelski Visits Sculpture Exhibition

LD2403201989 Warsaw PAP in English
1711 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 24—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski visited today an exhibition of sculptures and medals by Wiktoria Czechowska-Antoniewska, featuring leaders of the workers' movement.

Jaruzelski regarded with approval the artist's creative approach to this subject matter.

Jerzy Urban Holds 21 March News Conference

AU2403092989 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Mar 89 pp 1, 5-6

[Transcript of news conference by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 21 March]

[Text] Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban held another news conference for Polish and foreign journalists at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 21 March. Here is the transcript:

[Urban] We are probably entering a political spring at the same time as the chronological spring. Tomorrow, 22 March, may well turn out to be a decisive day for the "roundtable," or perhaps the next few days will determine everything. We will see whether or not a basic accord preceding accelerated elections is possible. If Wednesday and Thursday turn out to be successful days, the "roundtable" will enter its final phase, whereby its results will be committed to paper. I hope the elections to the Sejm and Senate, which are very near, will be preceded by an accord, which is desired and expected by about 90 percent of the population.

If the main package of proposals concerning an accord is accepted by all sides, the "roundtable" may achieve a broader consensus than the one expected by the sides taking part in it.

Key "Solidarity" activists have said that if they are permitted a gradual legalization of their union, beginning with workplaces, the "roundtable" will have been successful. We have said that we want to establish at the "roundtable" the general rules for creating a socialist parliamentary democracy based on political and trade union pluralism, on an accord on the elections, and on support for the economic reforms and an understanding of their social consequences.

Contrary to previous expectations, the "roundtable" talks have covered many concrete and detailed matters, including the reforms and changes already initiated by the party, allied parties, and National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ], as well as the proposals contained in rich and critical press discussions. The new partners to dialogue have expressed their points of view and introduced modifications. All the teams, subteams, and groups have been seeking a consensus on the hundreds of topics that have been subjected to reform over the past few years and months. Legal reform, the position of citizens vis-a-vis the reforms, the working conditions of miners, changes to the health service, reforms to education and the mass media, wage systems—these are just some of the many issues that have been discussed.

The doors to a multilateral review and accord on how to improve relations in Poland, including changes to dozens—even hundreds—of legal rules, have been opened.

There are many different views on how to carry out the work of renewal in various spheres. However, there is no shortage of consensus, which has encouraged the ruling coalition and state authorities to undertake intense legislative work and quickly put forth new solutions that herald a departure from old ways of thinking about and handling problems.

We are not surprised that our partners have frequently failed to present any concrete and unifying plan of changes, but have merely expressed certain philosophies and wishes, or presented premature and unfeasible ideas. Everything we have discussed and supported has, at the very least, provided further stimuli for finding solutions and making numerous Polish problems a subject of concern for everyone.

It is typical that the government-coalition side has been presenting varying stances, pluralistic ones, and that the OPZZ has almost always disagreed with them. On the other hand, the opposition-Solidarity side has been paying lip service to pluralism, but its stances have not been pluralistic at all, but uniform.

One expected the talks by the political and trade union teams to be the most difficult ones of all, and the talks by the socioeconomic team to be easier. After all, before the "roundtable," political differences between the authorities and the opposition were always considerable, whereas the paths of the economic reform sprouted from common roots and were not really questioned by any of the participating sides. Yet it is the economic talks that have been the most difficult ones, with the greatest number of arguments, because they involved current economic policy. This took place under the pressure of society's expectations, for society is mainly interested in ways of improving the economic situation.

Even so, I believe the economic sphere ought to be devoid of sharp conflicts, and not just in workplaces, but on a national scale. Economic policy calls for constant discussion and arguments, but this should not create the impression that the reforms will bring nothing. Neither can disputes paralyze activity, and economic talks take the place of economic actions. I hope that in the pluralistic conditions of the future, differences in view will not obstruct government action and block government and Sejm decisions concerning the reforms. That would be a disaster for Poland.

Tomorrow, the "roundtable" political team is to adopt a stance toward the draft election rules to the Sejm and Senate. It will also perform work on constitutional amendments dealing with the Senate and the office of president. We presented our proposals concerning these issues, the opposition-Solidarity side expressed its own views on this subject, and then we expressed our views

on the subject of the other side's views. Today the working teams are seeking a consensus, and tomorrow they will present the results of their work to the "roundtable" political team. Simultaneously, a Sejm debate on these important documents will start tomorrow. Also tomorrow we will try to finalize other important matters at the "roundtable." Probably on Wednesday evening it will be clear whether an accord is being reached on the package of proposals, or, heaven forbid, there is a deadlock.

Pressure from society is forcing the "roundtable" sides against the wall and compelling them toward compromise and a national accord package. The size of the stakes was described by Wojciech Jaruzelski at the Katowice Voivodship Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Conference. I will provide a quotation: "If we succeed in creating a properly functioning model of socialist parliamentary democracy and political and trade union pluralism in a responsible manner, there is a chance that the Poles will enter the history of European social thought not as the originators of a new type of liberum veto, but as a nation capable of creating a systemic quality in this part of the world, under exceptionally difficult conditions."

One more matter. I publicly invite the "Solidarity" activists taking part in the "roundtable" to see to it that the conspiratorial cells under their command immediately stop jamming Polish radio and television.

We have not been jamming Polish-language Western radio stations for over a year. Ever since the "roundtable" began, Polish radio and television have been widely publicizing the views of "Solidarity" and the opposition, and have placed their cameras and microphones at the disposal of opposition activists every day. The mass media subteam is discussing broader access by the opposition and the newly emerging unions to Polish radio and television. The other side is voicing pretty words about freedom of speech and a new system of information. Yet at the same time "Solidarity" radio transmitters, acting against the law, are occasionally jamming local Polish radio and television programs and broadcasting their own programs on the same frequency. In themselves, these local acts of radio piracy are not so important. However, it is the principle that counts. Jamming Polish radio and television programs shows that the opposition says one thing and does another. In the past, opposition circles have asked us not to jam foreign radio stations, referring to international agreements, including those provided by the CSCE. Yet they themselves are indulging in jamming even now. They are jamming the very radio and television services of which they would like to take advantage and are taking advantage. Activity like this undermines the credibility of what the opposition is saying in the mass media subteam, and is making former criticism of the authorities for jamming Radio Free Europe or the Voice of America look ridiculous.

The purpose of the changes in Poland is to abandon some of the old ways of conduct. We are not making changes so that the opposition-Solidarity side can do what we have ceased to do, and practice those things for which it has condemned us in the past. Therefore, the point is not so much these incidents as the principle of coexistence under pluralism.

The jamming of Polish radio and television by "Solidarity" transmitters is a question of the honesty, credibility, and consistency of our partners, for jamming undermines one's trust in their words and intentions.

So that my words do not sound hollow, let me say that during the "roundtable," "Solidarity" buzzers jammed Gdansk reception of the second television program on 20 February, 27 February, 2 March, and 5 March. To be more exact, they jammed the sound. "Solidarity" radio jammed the first television program in Warsaw on 7 March, the first television program in Slubice on 8 March, and the third radio program in Siedlce on 18 March. Another jamming installation, sponsored by "Fighting Solidarity," jammed the third radio program in Wroclaw twice, on 23 February and 16 March.

Let me add to this that according to the Public Opinion Research Center, 72 percent of those interested in the "roundtable" obtain news about it from television (and 47 percent of society is interested in the "roundtable), and that 40 percent of those interested in the talks obtain news from the radio. Some 63 percent of these people think that the television coverage is objective, and 12 percent think it is not. Some 56 percent think that every side has equal possibilities of presenting its views, while 23 percent think that some sides have greater opportunities than others.

Alma Kadragic, ABC: Mr Minister, I understand that you are planning to visit the United States shortly. In light of this, could you tell me under whose auspices the visit will take place, and could you also tell us something about the agenda for the visit? I am also surprised that you are planning to return on 6 April, which would mean that you will not be present at the signing of the "roundtable" agreement? How is this possible? How could this be at all possible without you?

Urban: I will be visiting the United States at the invitation of of our ambassador, Jan Kinast. The reason for the invitation is not that the ambassador misses me, but to hold a series of meetings with the international and American press and representatives of a number of American institutions. Concerning your doubts, I can tell you that I will be leaving behind two deputy government spokesmen who are more gifted than I, and I assure you that anything can be signed in Poland without me, that is, with the exception of checks drawn on my account.

Wieslaw Wesolowski, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA: How do central institutions envisage the practical implementation of Minister Wilczek's idea of closing down the most energy-intensive and least productive plants, starting with those in Silesia? Will this involve possibly tough negotiations with self-management bodies, or might closures be the result of decisions made in a ruthless fashion?

Urban: Negotiations will be essential, although there are times when a certain amount of ruthlessness and determination on the part of the authorities is necessary. However, first and foremost, there are two questions that must be answered in order to implement Minister Wilczek's plan. The first question is what can and should be closed as a result of a further reduction in coal extraction levels; and second, how can one make up the reduced availability of cement, steel, and many other products that would result from the closure of outdated cement works, large ovens, coking plants, and so on. So this is not that straightforward a matter, but, in the opinion of the government, the direction of such moves is the right one. A team has been set up, and it is working out the details at the Ministry of Industry.

Debbie Sewart, UPI: Do you think the signing of the "roundtable" agreement will make it possible to obtain new credits from the United States, and do you intend to meet representatives of institutions like the World Bank during your visit to the United States?

Urban: No, I do not foresee the "roundtable" having such an effect. American officials have in general been expressing a wish to expand economic relations with Poland, but they are very reticent when it comes to describing the actual form this would take, specifying dates, and describing its extent. American experts in economic matters stress the need to reduce inflation and to put the Polish economy in order as a condition for stepping up economic cooperation. This requires discussion because we believe what we are dealing with is a vicious circle, that is to say, inadequate cooperation increases our difficulties in combating inflation and other faults in the Polish economy, and it also makes it more difficult for us to meet interest payments on our debts. I have no plans to hold talks with representatives of U.S. business circles, and in addition have no authority in such matters.

Konstanty Gebert, Lech Walesa's Organization Bureau: Mr Minister, there are two questions concerning international issues that I would like to ask. First, what is the current state of Polish-GDR negotiations on the Pomeranian Bay dispute? My paper recently published some material on the origins of the dispute to the effect that since 1985, GDR vessels have harassed almost 200 Polish yachts, sometimes firing at them and ramming them. Is this being discussed?

Urban: I think that negotiations are drawing to a close, but I cannot say whether the outcome will be successful or not. That would be premature. I know that saying this might cause people to become impatient, as this subject has been talked about a long time and in general terms, but I think that the issue will be cleared up shortly. I hope that the outcome will be positive for both sides. There were cases in the past of yachts experiencing difficulties. However, all misunderstandings of this kind and the form that they manifested themselves in at sea ceased following the Honecker-Jaruzelski meeting in Wroclaw, at which the principles for settling the dispute were set out, and it was agreed that free and unrestricted access to the Polish ports of Szczecin-Swinoujscie could serve as their basis.

Gebert: Iran's premier visited Poland a few months ago. Premier Rakowski has now been visiting Iraq. Does the Government of Iran expect Rakowski to pay a reciprocal visit to Tehran, and do we know how it has reacted to Rakowski's visit to Baghdad?

Urban: There have been no negative reactions to the visit. Iran knows that Poland has sought to maintain good relations with both Iraq and Iran, both now and in the past—that is, during the armed conflict. This was always our policy and both sides involved in the war were told about it. It is much easier to say this today, now that hostilities have ceased. A state visit is being paid to Iraq, and we would like our relations with Iran to be equally good.

Mati Howiseppa, Finland: Mr Minister, in December you said that the "Greens" can operate in Poland as a body, as a general kind of group, but that they should not form some kind of formal organization. Nevertheless, they are organizing themselves—and they are currently quite well organized here in Warsaw—and they would like to stand in the next Sejm and local government elections. Could you comment on this?

Urban: What you remember about what I said is inaccurate. I simply said that at the present stage in the development of pluralism in Poland, the term association is a more appropriate name for one of the tendencies within the "Greens" than party. However, there is of course a place for the ecological movement in the elections and in public life, and they can organize themselves. They are already organized or are in the process of organizing themselves, as there are very many different tendencies within it, regional and programmatic differences.

Howiseppa: What is the current strike situation in Poland, especially with regard to the strikes in coal mines?

Urban: At the moment there are no strikes at any of the coal mines. The wave of strikes is subsiding. However, the protests in the countryside are a new phenomenon. Those staging the protests say they are doing so because farming is unprofitable.

Zbigniew Zemler, OPZZ Information Bureau: Mr Minister, when you spoke about the "roundtable" today, you said that the opposition-Solidarity side is monolithic rather than pluralist. You then stressed that the other participants are more pluralist, and you stressed the independent role of the OPZZ with respect to certain issues. However, is there uniformity among the government's representatives at the "roundtable"? Let us take the example of wage indexation. We know that the government, that is, the minister of labor and social policy, accepts the Solidarity idea of so-called partial indexation. The OPZZ accepts the idea but has some serious reservations about it in view of the negative economic and social effects it is expected to entail. However, it turns out, as we learned from television, that the finance minister supports the OPZZ's position. Will there be some kind of uniform government position on this issue, one that will be backed up by, I would say, better arguments, some encouragement, in view of the effects this is expected to have on the national economy and working people?

Urban: There will be a government position because some prices and wages policy option must be chosen, in view of the overall dispute that has arisen on this subject. So the government will have to work out a uniform position and uniform decisions. However, it is quite natural that during the discussion stage, the initial stage, various proposals and different viewpoints are expressed on an issue as complex and difficult as this. Various people are stressing the different opportunities and faults inherent in specific solutions. It is difficult to arrive at a uniform view on an issue in which each of the very many possible solutions has certain merits and faults, and this is being discussed.

Renate Marsch, DPA: You mentioned a possible deadlock at the "roundtable." In the government's view, what are the most difficult "roundtable" topics, topics on which no accord may be reached? If the State Council is furnishing draft legislation which the "roundtable" is still discussing, is this not a case of neglecting the Sejm?

Urban: The most difficult problems are economic ones, especially the index-linking of wages and other matters. Of the topics dealt with by the political team, the most difficult ones are the powers of the State Council, the office of president, and parts of the new election rules. Of the topics dealt with by the trade union team, the most difficult ones involve the past. I do not think this list of topics contains any that are difficult to resolve, for when we compare the list of topics waiting to be resolved with the list of topics with which we started the "roundtable" talks, we see that progress has been achieved. The only question is whether there is enough desire to reach an accord. Does the Sejm feel neglected? That question should have been asked at the Sejm news conference today. I am not authorized to speak on behalf of the Sejm. However, I can tell you that when following such complex procedures involved in the "roundtable" political talks and in the talks by state authorities, in this case the Sejm and State Council, it is very difficult to maintain priorities so that no one feels neglected. I have said in public that our "roundtable" partners are upset that draft legislation has been placed before the Sejm before the "roundtable" has even finished. Right now, the question is whether or not Sejm deputies are upset that the "roundtable" is discussing the same topics that they are, and at the same time. We are in an unusual period that requires unconventional solutions. However, I am sure the deputies will think more about the country's future and the advantages of an accord than about some abnormal and unconventional methods of conduct.

Krzysztof Leski, Lech Walesa's Organization Bureau: Could you please explain where the government got the idea of a president equipped with the present powers of the Sejm and State Council combined, able to veto Sejm laws, issue decrees, and interpret legislation? According to the Democratic Party [SD] news conference, this is not an idea shared by the entire government coalition. The SD has been saying lately that although it does agree with the idea of a president, it does not want a president who will replace the Sejm, but one who will supplement the Sejm and act as arbitrator in exceptional circumstances, not on a daily basis.

Urban: Those are the planned powers of the president. The office of president, first suggested by the SD, is not being created for the sole purpose of having another office. The purpose of a president is to provide the process of government with continuity and intervene in cases of breakdown, for example when two or more parliamentary forces begin to block each other's activity and make the functioning of the state impossible. Such a presidential function is essential because of the multitude of changes in our lives. It is essential to have an institution that preserves the continuity of the government process. In any case, I can assure you that the president will not replace the Sejm. Nor is he a Polish version of Bonapartism.

Adam Wysocki, SD press spokesman: I would like to thank you for sparing me from answering the question put by my colleague from Lech Walesa's Organization Bureau about the office of president. I am slightly puzzled by all these doubts because we have been suggesting a return to the office of president in some form for 31 years, and never has there been any talk of absolute power by the president. However, we have always underlined and still underline the importance of this office for the country's stability and for avoiding crises. Remember that we put forth this idea in 1958, at a time when certain experiences were also behind us. The idea was to prevent a crisis in any one political party from developing into a national crisis. But my question to you is on a different subject, namely today's meeting of the mining subteam. The same page of the protocol on the accord this subteam is working on contains two sentences that are really very different. We read: "The coalition-government side supports the promarket orientation of mining, provided that society accepts all the

economic consequences of higher prices of coal." That is quite obvious. However, on the very same page, the trade union stance is given, and this stance says: "Should mining be geared to the economy, it will be necessary to create a Ministry of Extraction and Power Industries, which would assume control over mines and mining services. Mines would then become independent, self-managing, and self-financing institutions." What do you think of the idea of a return to a separate Ministry of Mining? Would this make the whole issue credible in the eyes of society?

Urban: I cannot believe what you are saying is true. The government did not carry out a reform of central institutions and abolish ministries of branch industries in order to see a return of these old structures 1 year later. The purpose of this reform was not an arbitrary reduction or merger of ministries, but a change in the functioning of central institutions. Such a solution is therefore out of the question.

Tadeusz Kucharski, TIME: Several weeks ago, the SD spokesman here said on television that one should consider changing the name of the state, in other words restoring the name Polish Republic. Once, a very high-ranking state official said privately that the name "People's Republic" contains an unnecessary repetition; after all, the very word "republic" signifies that the country belongs to the people, that it is "public." Is there any plan to implement this change?

Urban: I have not heard of such an idea, and I cannot imagine who finds the word "people's" irrelevant. "Republic" does not necessarily signify "people's," because the prewar republic was an aristocratic state, and after the war we wanted to underline the fact that the people, in other words the working people, are the dominating current of public life in whose interests the authorities are acting.

Bahman, DIE PRESSE: I have a question about Pomeranian Bay, but not, of course, about the negotiations. On 6 March, the POLISH PRESS AGENCY said that the Maritime Office in Szczecin was planning to build a second sea channel located outside the 12-mile zone established by the GDR in 1976. Later, the Maritime Office said that no such plans, in other words no new plans of this nature, exist. However, we know that there are old plans for a second channel dating from 1978. My first question is: Is anyone in Poland planning a second channel in Pomeranian Bay?

Urban: It is difficult to say whether or not a particular office is planning something. All I can say is that at the government level, no funds are being earmarked for a third access channel to the ports. There are already two, and they are sufficient.

Bahman, DIE PRESSE: My second question. A certain amount of consternation has been caused in Szczecin by an atlas for secondary schools published since 1978. The GDR-Polish border marked in this atlas is more or less the same as the one that has been unilaterally fixed by the GDR. What does the government think of that? Why has this atlas still not been revised after all this time?

Urban: Is this a Polish atlas or a GDR one?

Bahman: It is a Polish atlas for secondary schools.

Urban: Well, this atlas simply shows the border that follows the continental shelf, the border established at the 1968 agreement, or Frankfurt agreement. I am confused as to which of these agreements it was. Of course, the border is marked incorrectly.

Bahman: Does the government know that the GDR has chased Polish vessels out of the 12-mile zone since the meeting between General Jaruzelski and East German party leader Honecker?

Urban: I know of no such incidents.

Marcin Gugulski, Lech Walesa's Organization Office: Last week's TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY carries a letter from a reader named Andrzej Olszewski from Wroclaw, who points out a discrepancy between information provided by the Interior Ministry spokesman and information provided by the government spokesman about the number of men in the Civic Militia and Interior Ministry forces, and about the number of vacancies. Did you read this letter? If so, could you comment on it? If you did not read it, could you please do so and tell me next week, because it is very interesting.

Urban: I did not read it, and I cannot even remember providing such figures lately. But we will check.

Marcin Gugulski: While reading TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, the following question occurred to me. We know that the government has considered replacing prepublication censorship with postpublication censorship. In fact, why don't you gentlemen consider abolishing all censorship?

Urban: We believe that at least during the transitional period we are now entering, censorship plays a very useful role. It permits the protection of existing values and assets such as the Polish raison d'etat, to put it vaguely, as well as all the assets that are listed in the censorship law. Although we are now discussing a major amendment to the censorship law and censorship has been restricted for several years, the existence of this type of safety valve encourages freedom of publication at the present stage of development. While we do not consider censorship a virtue, we do think it is a useful institution right now.

Yousef Mah'd, WAFA: Mr Minister, the Israeli Army has recently intensified its barbaric use of force in the occupied territories, where it is trying to crush the uprising being staged by the Palestinian people. At the

same time, we are witnessing the development of official and unofficial contacts between Poland and Israel, which is isolated in the international arena. At a recent news conference, you said that the chairman of the PLO will visit Poland in April. My question is: Poland is one of the states that has as yet failed to recognize the Palestinian state. Can one say that Poland wishes to establish equal relations with both sides along the lines of the policy it is pursuing toward Iraq and Iran, which you described a moment ago in reply to a question from one of my colleagues, if a comparison of this kind can be made at all? Has there been a change in Poland's Middle East policy, and does your country wish to perform some kind of role in the Middle East region?

Urban: There has been no change in our position on Middle East issues, and there are no new elements in it. Our attitude toward Palestinian issues is reflected in the status of the PLO's representative in Poland. The PLO's representative accredited in Poland has had the status of ambassador for a long time now, and this means that we have diplomatic relations. We do not have diplomatic relations with Israel. Our representation takes the form of a bureau representing our interests. In view of this, it is clear that there is no question of the kind of equality you mentioned.

Krzysztof Bobinski: Could you tell us what proposed amendments to the electoral code and the Constitution the government has already conveyed to the Sejm and if it has not already done so, when will it?

Urban: I do not know and I doubt whether the government, the State Council to be precise, has submitted amendments, because the government did not draw up the legislation. However, partial agreement has been reached at the "roundtable." The process of reaching agreement is continuing. The discussions do not concern fundamental matters. I think that it will be suggested to the Sejm that it adopt amendments of its own, but, above all, the Sejm is starting work on examining these documents. It is a sovereign body, and we will see what form this fundamental legislation will ultimately take. We will find out about this during the course of the Sejm work and when the work is actually completed.

Bobinski: It seems that the whole question of candidates' funding of election campaigns is not dealt with by the legislation. Do you not think that this is an important omission? I am thinking of a ceiling on expenditure, sources of money, the entire issue, which is something that countries usually regulate.

Urban: You are right. This needs to be regulated. However, please understand all of us at the "roundtable," because it is very difficult to consider all issues and produce plans for them in such a short period of time.

John Daniszewski, AP: I have two questions. My first question is an attempt to look into the future, to next week. The "roundtable" working groups are to complete their deliberations this week, and there is to be a plenary session next week, on 3 April. Can we expect a Central Committee plenum to be held then, one that would ratify the "roundtable" agreement? Is any date for a Central Committee plenum being set at present?

Urban: Yes, a Central Committee plenum is being planned. It is expected to take place some time at the end of March and the beginning of April. The Politburo might reach and announce a decision about this today.

Daniszewski: My second question concerns a commentary that I read in today's TRYBUNA LUDU in which the opposition was criticized for attaching excessive importance to the precise wording of an agreement, for being, in a sense, excessively legalistic. In the opinion of the TRYBUNA LUDU commentator a "roundtable" agreement is to be more of a declaration of intentions or a source of counsel than a legally binding document. In view of this, I would like to ask whether the "roundtable" agreement will be literally binding for the government?

Urban: It will be literally binding in the political sense. Political agreements have no legal force, but are observed by society. All the agreements that we are reaching at the "roundtable" are being concluded before the eyes of society and the world. Certain accords already have a legal dimension. In other words, they are taking the shape of draft amendments to legislation, which the relevant state authorities are placing before the Sejm. Examples of such amendments are the ones to the trade union and association laws, which, generally speaking, were planned earlier and discussed by society.

Pawel Dybicz, SZTANDAR MLODYCH: Mr Minister, I have two questions. To what extent has the mild winter affected the Polish economy?

Urban: It has not disrupted transportation or the supply of heating and electricity, so it has not led to a fundamental deterioration in living conditions, which is something that does happen during severe winters. The mild weather has also made it possible to accomplish production tasks smoothly with respect to time. It is estimated that about 3 million tons of coal have been saved in the provision of electricity and heating. This coal, which is not exported, will be used in Poland, although it might be possible to find a foreign buyer. Big savings were also made on road maintenance. It was estimated that Z13-15 billion would be needed for clearing snow from the roads and that about Z5 billion would be needed for snow clearance operations in towns. This money has been saved. The greatest effect on transportation has been that 20-24 percent of annual plan freight operation tasks have been accomplished by the end of the first quarter. This means that everything is proceeding on schedule. For the sake of comparison, 2 years ago, when there was a particularly severe winter, only 14-16 percent of plan tasks were completed by the end of the first quarter, which means that deliveries were markedly

reduced because of the winter. These delays were then made up by the railroad network. In addition, it is also envisaged that there will be benefits stemming form reduced fuel consumption in the transportation field, although it is not possible to estimate them. Savings on fuel consumption in rail transportation can be estimated, but this is more difficult to do in the case of road transportation.

Dybicz: Hungary is the 106th state to have signed the convention on refugees. Will Poland do the same, and if so, when?

Urban: I do not have any information about this. I will tell you next week.

Evelia Maitret, Mexican Television: Could you confirm reports that one of the murderers of Father Popieluszko will be released shortly?

Urban: I apologize for the delay, I am looking for my notes. Yes, Waldemar Chmielewski will have completed his sentence toward the end of April. A year ago a penitentiary court turned down a request for Waldemar Chmieliewski's early, conditional release from prison. He submitted a further request on 29 November 1988. The request has not been considered and I do not know whether the court will deal with it because the sentence will have been completed toward the end of April.

Grzegorz Kozera, SLOWO LUDU: Mr Minister, the Union of Polish Writers has written to the minister of justice in connection with the extraordinary sentence passed on Zdislaw Najder. In your opinion, is it realistic to expect the sentence to be completely quashed?

Urban: I have no opinion on court decisions, and I cannot have an opinion on such matters. This is not a matter for the government: It would mean government interference in the work of another sovereign institution.

Mateusz Wyrwich, Lech Walesa's Press Bureau: You said that Solidarity Radio's broadcasts have caused disruptions on certain dates, and you mentioned several. Does this mean the station's broadcasts caused disruption all day or only for the 10 or 15 minutes of the actual duration of the broadcasts? Next, you often use demagogy toward your opponents. Is it really fair to compare the state's jamming of foreign Polish language broadcasts over the decades with Radio Solidarity reports lasting 15 minutes and broadcast once or twice a week?

Urban: No, the broadcasts only last a few minutes, and it is not so much a question of substantive harm to normal Polish radio and television broadcasting as of the principle involved. If we are changing relations, then we should do so together. If we criticize something that someone else does, then we should criticize ourselves when we do the same thing, even if the damage is not very great. I said quite clearly that it was a matter of principle, and not a question of the weak transmitters used to jam state broadcasts.

Kay Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: Mr Minister, to return to the question of Pomeranian Bay. Do the talks with the GDR concern unlimited Polish access to the approach channel and the three moorage areas and the question of sovereignty as well?

Urban: Yes.

John Daniszewski, AP: Returning to your recent statement about the Katyn atrocity, in which you said all the evidence indicates that the atrocity was committed by the Soviet Union or the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs [NKVD], I would like to know if the government intends to ask for some kind of compensation for the families of the victims of this atrocity. Second, is there any news about the transfer of the Katyn memorial?

Urban: To answer your first question, you misunderstood me. What I said was that the Polish historians had sent their Soviet colleagues in the joint commission a Polish analysis of the Polish and Western materials that the Soviet side received earlier. In this analysis, the Polish historians say that the evidence suggests that this atrocity was committed by the NKVD. As we know, this issue is awaiting bilateral and professional explanation, based on sources. I have nothing new to say. To answer your second question, please ask the Office of the Council for the Protection of Memorials of Struggle and Martyrdom, which is dealing with this matter, because I do not know the technical details. I do not think the memorial has been moved yet. As far as I know, a new inscription has not been placed on it either. This inscription is still being discussed. It is meant to be changed in the middle of April, and that is when an urn containing soil brought from Katyn by a special delegation will be placed beneath the memorial.

Renate Marsch, DPA: Do Polish historians now have any access to archives on the subject of Katyn and the two other internment camps?

Urban: We have no archives on the subject of Katyn. Soviet historians are dealing with that topic.

Renate Marsch: But Polish historians did have access to British archives. Why do they have no access to Soviet ones?

Urban: Because this is a joint commission, and it is far easier for Soviet historians, in whom we have complete trust, to work in Soviet archives.

Debbie Sewart: Could you tell us if Soviet historians have had access to Polish archives?

Urban: I did not understand the question.

Debbie Sewart: Did Soviet historians have access to Polish archives?

Urban: We have transferred everything we had on this subject. As far as I know, there are no documents left to be found in Polish archives. I mean documents on Katyn, of course.

Kay Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: I would now like to change the subject to micropolitics and ask about shops in Poland, especially because you represent a government which includes a minister of the domestic market. Whenever I go around town, I notice that very many shops are closed at a certain time of day, and for the most varied reasons, which include stocktaking and staff illness. I encountered a situation where a shop manager had a cold and refused to admit more than five customers at a time. The rest had to stand and shiver outside. Later, a shop was closed when the staff decided that it was impossible to work while someone in an apartment upstairs was banging on the floor with a hammer. They insisted that they had to have peace and quiet during their work. Does this mean that shop workers have rights and customers have none? What can you say about consumer rights in Poland?

Urban: Polish newspapers and magazines are teeming with that sort of criticism, which is justified. All I can say is that in theory, customers in Poland do have influence over many shops, for example those operated by the "Spolem" cooperative. These include most food shops. "Spolem" is a cooperative which has shop committees and other social authorities in theory, but in practice these bodies have no influence on the standard of service. For decades, the government has been demanding that people work, and that those who do not be punished. Having realized the fruitlessness of this line of thought, the present government believes that work in shops has to be economically attractive, that supplies of goods must improve so that working in a shop might be profitable, and that the very mechanism of the labor market must encourage an appreciation of work ethics and a work performance that satisfies customers. Of course, the relevant government body is not sparing disciplinary measures, but the effectiveness of these is very limited.

'Katyn' Association Registered in Konin

LD2403215289 Warsaw PAP in English 1924 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 24—The "Katyn" association, affiliating the families and relatives of those interned in the camps in Kozielsk, Starobielsk, Ostaszkow, and murdered in Katyn and other places in the Soviet Union, has been registered in the voivodship office in Konin.

The association operates in the Konin Voivodship but accepts members from throughout Poland. It is the first association of the families and relatives of Polish citizens held in the said camps.

In an interview for the Poznan-based "GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI" paper, the association's president, Antoni Majorowicz stated: "Our goal is to preserve society's memory of the truth about the fate of Polish citizens held in Kozielski, Starobielsk and Ostaszkow and those murdered in Katyn and other places in the USSR. We will demand compensation for the families which lost their close ones as a result of crimes committed on them. We intend to collect documents, memoirs, to organize lectures and group trips and assist in private visits to the sites of martyrdom of Polish citizens in the Soviet Union.

"We think that the relations between Poland and the Soviet Union should be based on the truth and not on insinuations. Remembrance of Katyn should not create reason for provocation. It should be a symbol of joint strivings to fully explain those facts and be crossed out of the list of issues which cast a shadow on Polish-Soviet relations."

Culture Minister on Polish Cemeteries in Lvov

AU2103105489 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA ("Culture Plus Science" Supplement) in Polish 18-19 Mar 89 p 1

[Interview with Aleksander Krawczuk, minister of culture and art, by Stanislaw Goszczurny: "Concerning the 'Lvov Eagles' Cemetery"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Goszczurny] Minister, several weeks ago you raised the issue of the "Lvov Eagles" cemetery for the first time since World War II [the "Lvov Eagles" was the prewar name given to the young people who took part in the defense of Lvov against a Ukrainian attack in 1919, when Lvov was still Polish]. With your permission, we invited our readers to air their views on how this cemetery ought to be accorded dignified treatment. You said that society's views would help in reaching the right decisions. In the end, we received several dozen letters from individuals and from groups. We would like you to discuss them. I suggest we divide all these letters into three categories, because the opinions expressed in the letters permit such a division.

The first and biggest category of letters, 90 percent of the total, is from people who are very enthusiastic about your idea of restoring the cemetery. They offer you a great deal of praise because you have undertaken this matter, which is important for Polish society. Many people have even offered financial help, if necessary. People are quite simply ready to contribute to the restoration, and ask us if a suitable bank account has been opened where they can send contributions. What do you have to say to these people?

[Krawczuk] I am very pleased, and wish to thank everyone for supporting this idea. Of course, the case of the "Eagles" cemetery has been discussed ever since the war. We all had it programmed in our hearts, as it were. We never forgot about it, and we were very much concerned

over the fact that a major part of this cemetery had been destroyed. But the times were such that it was not possible to raise this issue in public, not even by private individuals.

However, in the new climate of openness, I thought it was high time to raise this subject not in private, but openly and officially. After all, a minister is never a private person, and RZECZPOSPOLITA, in which we lodged our appeal, is the organ of the Polish Government. That is how the subject was presented before public opinion, and I am very pleased that it caused such a strong echo and great support from society.

[Goszczurny] That support is very important. Everyone who wrote to us ought to realize that progress on this issue is only possible when one speaks out on one's own behalf. It is very important that our readers realize that you are speaking on behalf of society.

[Krawczuk] All these letters provide me with the authority to do so. Once again, I thank all the readers for their support. I can tell them that efforts in this matter have already yielded the first fruits. There was a meeting between the deputy culture ministers of Poland and the Ukraine, at which the "Eagles" cemetery was officially presented and discussed. The Ukrainian side took up this issue, and an outline of activity is presently being drawn up. Although no protocols have been signed yet, something is happening. Our intention is to do what seems essential and possible, in other words, to fence off the area in order to prevent further destruction, and to rescue the remaining chapels. We even wanted to preserve the ruins that are still standing, including the remains of colonnades, because ruins are a symbol. Our idea is to sow new grass in the cemetery for the time being, and to find a suitable memorial tablet before which wreaths can be laid. That is our idea. It has been presented to the Ukrainian side, and has not been turned down.

[Goszczurny] But is financial help from society necessary?

[Krawczuk] Perhaps not at this stage. It may be useful later, but for the time being we have our own funds. It may be possible to suggest looking after a Ukrainian cultural monument on Polish soil, in return for which the Ukrainian side would do something for us in Lvov. In other words, a reciprocal arrangement might be possible. That is how I imagine the situation, and that is what we have suggested during preliminary talks.

[Goszczurny] This takes us to the second group of letters, smaller than the first. The authors of these letters are clearly angry that the cemetery has been vandalized and that it contains some kind of buildings, garages for tractors, warehouses, and things like that.

[Krawczuk] That is true, unfortunately.

[Goszczurny] These people say that the Ukrainians ought to rectify the damage.

[Krawczuk] I think they are right, but let me finish what I had to say. Unfortunately, the Poles have also caused damage to Ukrainian monuments, and I think that here too there is a possibility of rectifying the damage. Perhaps the Poles have damaged more Ukrainian monuments than the Ukrainians have damaged Polish ones. There are fewer Ukrainian monuments in Poland than vice versa. But I do know that a great many Orthodox churches were destroyed. That is the unfortunate truth. However, this is not something that can be measured. I repeat that it is possible for each party to rectify the damage on both sides.

Let me say something about the Lyczakowski Cemetery in Lvov. A great number of Polish workers are employed by Ukrainian firms and enterprises. They are ready to give up their days off, and even wages, in order to do something for our cherished monuments. That is also a material reserve of ours.

[Goszczurny] Finally, the third group of letters. It is very small, consisting of only one or two letters, but we cannot ignore them if we are supposed to be discussing all the correspondence received on this subject. These people see danger in our efforts to restore this ceremony and other monuments in the Ukraine. They see it as a manifestation of an aristocratic desire to return to lands that do not belong and never did belong to us. What do you say to that?

[Krawczuk] As far as our "desires" are concerned, whether one calls them imperialist, bourgeouis, or anything else, then let me say that there is no such danger. All we want is to preserve certain places that are tainted with our blood. We are not seeking "revenge." We are paying homage to the dead, and we are all equal in death. What happened now belongs to the past, the tragic past. What happened in that territory is now history.

Let us be honest. We want to be in Lvov, but we want our presence to be marked by culture and by a respect for mutual traditions. That is not a danger to anyone. On the contrary, it is making cooperation richer. The case of the "Eagles" cemetery has always been a thorn in the flesh of every Pole. If we remove this thorn now, our attitudes toward a fraternal Slav people will change. There will be no more mutual grievances and complaints, no more questions like "what have you done to our graves." It is necessary to settle the old accounts for damages and begin life anew. Therefore, I think this is not just a gesture of homage to the dead. It is a settlement of accounts and, at the same time, an opening of new prospects.

War Commemoration Body Discusses Rally, Katyn

AU2003120389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Mar 89 p 5

[Rudolf Hofmann report: "A Safe Poland in a Safe Europe"]

[Text] The Council for Preserving the Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom held another meeting in Warsaw on 14 March under the chairmanship of its president,

General of Division Roman Paszkowski. The subject of the meeting was the council's tasks in connection with the 50th anniversary of Hitlerite Germany's attack on Poland and the outbreak of World War II. In addition, the council reviewed its basic paths of action.

During the first half of the meeting, General of Division Czeslaw Czubryt, deputy president, presented a rich program of events to commemorate September 1939 and the war of defense (this program will be part of the general program being devised by an organizational committee under the chairmanship of Jan Dobraczysnki), and spoke about commemorating the anniversaries of major battles fought by the Polish Armed Forces in the West, including the battle of Monte Cassino.

The highlight of the commemorations will be a great rally at Westerplatte, where the first shots of the war were fired, announcing the attack on Poland. This rally will bear the slogan: "A safe Poland in a safe Europe." Representatives of combatants associations in the countries that formed the anti-Hitler coalition, plus members of Polish combatants in the West, will be invited to take part. On the same day, there will be a gala concert in Warsaw, and it is probable that priests who were in office in 1939 will say mass for the fatherland on Victory Square.

There are also plans to hold a meeting of mayors of world cities of peace in Warsaw 1-4 September, as well as a "day of prayer for peace" attended by representatives of various religions, under the aegis of Jozef Cardinal Glemp.

The commemorations would, on the one hand, underline Poland's role and participation in World War II and the defeat of fascism; and, on the other, pay homage to all those people thanks to whom we are experiencing the longest period of peace in European history.

The debate and the reports made during the meeting stressed that, in view of the major changes taking place in the country and society's changing attitude toward the council's work, it is necessary to catch up with life and with social attitudes; this is becoming increasingly important on account of the national accord and society's patriotic integration. Last year and this year there has been a particularly large number of social initiatives to remove past mistakes, injustices, and neglect in the sphere of commemorating events and figures during our country's struggle for freedom in various periods of history.

The whole country has welcomed the creation of a commission to commemorate the victims of Stalinist repressions in Poland. This commission is a subsidiary body of the council. The chairman of this commission, Zenon Komender, referred to all these matters in his speech. The talks also addressed at length the council's efforts to commemorate in a dignified way the Polish officers who were murdered in Katyn, an issue that has become a symbol of righting the wrongs of the past and an expression of respect for national relics of the dramatic history of the struggle for our nation's independence.

In April, a council delegation will travel to Katyn and collect soil from the graves there. This soil will be placed beneath the Katyn memorial at the Powazki Cemetery in Warsaw, after the inscription on this memorial has been changed, and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw.

At the end of the meeting, the council adopted an appeal to society, which reads:

"On the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of war, we are obliged to accord particular concern and respect to memorials. No cemetery, tomb, or monument may be forgotten; no piece of land tainted with the blood of dead heroes may be neglected. We must see to it that young generations of Poles know about the history of this war and its leading figures, so that they themselves may care for national monuments that represent the glorious traditions of the struggles for Poland's freedom.

"Every Pole should contribute to this national patriotic cause. There is a lot that can be done by all social, scientific, cultural, professional, women's, and educational organizations that bring together adults and young people."

Katowice Protesters Demand Release of Havel

LD2503155789 Hamburg DPA in German 1422 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Several young people taking part in a Katowice hunger strike for the release of the Czechoslovak writer Vaclav Havel demonstrated on Friday [24 March] publicly. The banned "Socialist Party" announced on Saturday that five of the protesters climbed scaffolding opposite the CSSR Consulate. They were removed by police 10 minutes later. The demonstrators shouted: "Release Vaclav Havel," "Jakes must resign," and "Polish-Czech solidarity."

A few hours later three young people appeared with a banner outside the main railroad station of Katowice. They too were quickly detained. Apart from two people, all those detained were freed by Saturday afternoon. They returned to the apartment where, since Monday, 26 people have gathered to emphasize their demand for Havel's release through a hunger strike. They intend to end their campaign on Easter.

Economic Difficulties Force Defense Cuts

LD2603103189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 26 Mar 89

[Text] The difficult economic situation in our country also forces our National Defense Ministry to make savings. During the past 3 years the National Defense

Ministry's military expenditure has been cut by 14 percent in comparable prices. This year expenditures will be reduced by 26 percent compared with the assumptions of the National Socioeconimic Plan for 1986-1990.

Solidarity Social Fund Registered in Warsaw

LD2403225289 Warsaw PAP in English 2002 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 24—The registrar's department of the voivodship court in Warsaw has issued a decision to register the Social Fund of Workers' Solidarity which was set up by Lech Walesa.

The goal of the fund, with a funding capital of a million dollars, is to undertake activities aimed at protecting the health of working people and their families. These intentions will be put to practice by creating preventive-diagnostic and treatment centres, first and foremost for people working in particularly difficut conditions, organizing various forms of assistance for children requiring rehabilitation and broad preventive treatment as well as—in emergencies—rendering assistance to public health service centres.

Measures Planned To Stop Food Smuggling

LD2403213389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1920 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Excerpts] [Presenter] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen: Welcome, guests. For several months now we have been seeing a shocking phenomenon, the taking of foodstuffs out of Poland illegally—to Hungary, to Austria, and recently to West Berlin. Poles with butter, cheese, eggs, and so forth are leaving for weekends, taking these goods with them. For several weeks customs officers have been carrying out very strict checks. What is the situation today? I have invited the press spokesman of the main customs office, Zygmunt Janczyk, and the press spokesman of the minister of internal affairs, Major Wojciech Garstka.

[Janczyk] We are trying to check 100 percent of the people who leave our country's borders. Of course, the checks now take longer, for which I apologize to legitimate tourists, who have to bear the consequences of the improper behavior of some of our compatriots. [passage omitted]

[Garstka] Economic tools have proved to be not totally effective here. Indeed, thanks to the great efforts of our colleagues from the main customs office and all other customs bodies, this phenomenon has slowed down, but it transpires that customs officials have problems implementing their tasks and they need help. In view of this, General Czeslaw Kiszczak, chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee for Observance of the Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline, has recommended such help. It involves cooperation between those services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other bodies helping in these border checks. [passage omitted]

We have to have certain sanctions to frighten off people going abroad to trade. We understand that these people are often in varied economic situations, but at this moment, this interests us less. We are interested in the general good. In view of this, such a sanction—one of the strictest kind and one which will frighten people off effectively—will be the possibility of retaining the passport of a person who persistently comes for a border check, several times, trying somehow to (?deceive) or smuggle himself through that border, a person who blatantly violates not only the regulations, but common sense and good manners, by taking enormous quantitutes of food or other products. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] Concluding our conversation, I'd like to ask when this campaign, these barriers, will face the tourists and pseudotourists.

[Janczyk] Well, will we reveal the secret?

[Garstka] Yes, I think so. I think we want to put our cards on the table. We give a clear warning that the first operation of this kind will take place the first weekend after the holiday.

[Presenter] Will it be a one-shot operation?

[Garstka] It will last until we see clear results, a weakening of this (?traffic).

Ceausescu Speech at 22 Mar Petrosani Rally

AU2203121489 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1105 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at a mass rally in Petrosani in Hunedoara County on 22 March—live]

[Text] Dear comrades: I would like to convey warm greetings to you and to the residents in the Jiu Valley and Hunedoara County, on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council and government, and on my own behalf, as well as best wishes for ever new successes in all areas. [cheers, chants]

We are in Hunedoara, in the Jiu Valley, on a working visit. We have met the energy workers and the working people of the big iron and steel combine in Hunedoara. This morning we met with the miners of Lupeni and of the Jiu Valley in general. We have conducted talks with the working people's councils in Hunedoara and Petrosani.

Generally speaking, we have gathered positive impressions of the work and activity of all working people in all areas in Hunedoara. We have gained particularly positive impressions of the work carried out by miners. [cheers, chants]

As is well known, last year all our people achieved an increased output compared with the previous year. We have taken fresh and important steps on the road of our country's socioeconomic development and in fulfilling the 1986-90 5-year plan for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and for our homeland's advancement toward communism. [cheers, chants]

The working people in Hunedoara and the Jiu Valley have made an important contribution to all this. True, the provisions of last year's plan were not fully implemented either in the country as a whole or in Hunedoara County. However, we have taken important steps in the country's development in general. Generally speaking, we have begun this year with good results. Although larger outputs have been achieved in the Jiu Valley and in Hunedoara compared with the same period last year, there are certain shortfalls. However, we are firmly convinced that throughout the country, that is in Hunedoara, too, and in the Jiu Valley as well, it is possible to make good the shortfalls of the first 2 months and fulfill this year's plan under the most favorable conditions.

As a matter of fact, during our discussions and talks with the managerial councils, we jointly agreed on measures to be taken and both councils—the one from Hunedoara and the one from Petrosani—have pledged to work so as to fulfill this year's plan under the most favorable conditions. I am convinced that all miners, all iron and steel workers, all energy workers, and all working people in Hunedoara County and thus in the Jiu Valley, too, will keep their word and will commendably fulfill the plan. [cheers, chants]

For the results achieved so far, I would like to convey warmest congratulations to you and to all working people in the Jiu Valley and Hunedoara, together with wishes for ever new successes in all areas. [cheers, chants]

This year we will celebrate the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, when the Romanian people eliminated imperialist domination for good and decided to move to our homeland's independent development. Forty years have passed since we started to build socialism in our country. We have traveled a long road and we have achieved tremendous results in all areas. I have mentioned them before, you are familiar with all this. In the Jiu Valley, too, great changes have occurred in the years of socialist construction, ever since the workers class, the peasantry, the intellectuals, all working people, irrespective of nationality, and all our nation—in complete unity and under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]—started to build the most just system that has ever existed in the world: the socialist system. We have had great accomplishments; we have traveled a long road; the very fact that industrial production is more than 120 times and agricultural output more than 9 times larger than in 1945 demonstrates, on the basis of facts, the potential of the workers class and of our people, who are full masters of their destiny, who have eliminated the oppressors for good, and who are building a free and independent life in accordance with their own wishes. [cheers, chants]

We have brought about the overall transformation of our country; from a poorly developed country, we have transformed into an industrial agrarian country. We have built strong industrial centers and we have greatly developed the mining sector. The coal output has markedly increased in the Jiu Valley itself. It is true that the output should increase more markedly, nevertheless we have achieved good results. We have built apartments, hospitals, schools, that is, everything that raises the level of civilization, leads to an improvement in living and working conditions, and ensures the well-being of our whole nation. [cheers, chants]

We are firmly determined to do all we can to appropriately fulfill the provisions of the current 5-year plan, thus ensuring Romania's transition to a new stage of development and continuously improve our homeland's general level of development and the well-being of our whole nation.

Comrades, you are aware that serious economic problems have emerged in the international arena during this decade. Unemployment has increased, particularly among young people, and serious housing problems and several

other problems have cropped up, problems that have led to a deterioration in the conditions of the people's masses in the world. I would like to put particular emphasis on the very serious deterioration of the situation in the developing countries. Under these difficult conditions, year by year, our country has continued to improve its development, and we have created conditions and ensured a workplace for all our young people; thus, we have ensured increasingly better working and living conditions for all our working people, because this is the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society and the supreme goal of the policy promoted by our Communist Party, which does everything for the people and with the people, and for the well-being and happiness of our entire nation. [cheers, chants]

We have achieved these wonderful results in the development of our homeland and, every year, we have allocated significant means for development and investments. We have strengthened and developed socialist ownership in industry, transportation, agriculture, and in all other fields of activity. In the Jiu Valley itself, had we not achieved investments of thousands of billions of lei during this period, we would have not succeeded in achieving the current level of modernization in production in all sectors, including the mining sector, and we would not have been able to build apartments and improve the general level of civilization and life. Only socialism, socialist ownership, and the property of the whole nation are the guarantee of the progress toward the golden dream, toward communism. [cheers, chants]

Proceeding from the scientific thesis of building socialism and communism with the people and for the people, we have created a broad democratic framework and councils of working people in all areas, we have increased the role of general meetings and of the owners and producers, of the true masters of the whole country, who decide on the whole activity and on the domestic and foreign policy of our homeland. Nevertheless, I must stress, comrades, that not everything has been smooth, without shortfalls or difficulties. We had to overcome many difficulties because the road we have traveled has required great efforts. We made some mistakes at a certain point, but we eliminated them a long time ago. We have not always achieved the objectives concerning the development level, but we continued to move forward and the production achieved in this period proves the great superiority of socialism and of the path of establishing the new system on new bases, free of exploiters, a system in which the people are the true masters of their destinies, who build their own lives in accordance with their wishes, in complete freedom and independence. [cheers, chants]

Now we have reached the level at which we must propose that we concentrate our forces on the better organization and modernization of all sectors, more intensively introduce the most modern technical and scientific means in all areas, and achieve the objectives of the new agrarian revolution. On this basis, we can ensure the ever greater progress of our homeland and, up to the year 2000, the implementation of the party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society, since we have created the conditions to ensure the implementation of the communist principles of work and life. We have everything we need for it and, above all, we have a united and strong party, a correct policy, and we have wonderful people, a workers class, a peasantry, and an intelligentsia with an increasingly higher level of knowledge. This unity of the whole nation around the party in the struggle for communism and for a free and independent life is the guarantee of the firm progress of our whole nation. [cheers, chants]

As far as the international situation is concerned, in its entire activity the party, our state, and all our people have proceeded from the need of the policy of disarmament, peace, and cooperation with all peoples and nations in the world, irrespective of social system.

Serious problems still persist in the international arena. However, it is possible and we must intensify our activity and cooperation with all realistic forces advocating disarmament, peace, and a radical change in the world situation. Certain steps have been taken, but we are only at the beginning of disarmament. Negotiations on conventional disarmament in Europe have begun. However, at the same time nuclear testing continues and the modernization of a whole series of nuclear weapons is being discussed. This actually increases the threat of war and of the use of nuclear weapons, which would destroy the very existence of life on our planet. This is why the party of Socialist Romania believes that we must do all we can to completely eliminate nuclear and chemical weapons, to radically reduce—at least by 50 percent—conventional weapons. An appropriate international control over the application of these measures must be instituted. Military expenditure must be reduced and the necessary means must be secured to solve a great number of social problems and to improve the standard of living of peoples.

As far as we are concerned, we are determined—as we have been so far—to do all we can to contribute to the victory of peace on earth. [cheers, chants]

We will work with great determination to contribute to the solution of all disputes between states solely through negotiations. We will particularly strengthen cooperation and solidarity with the developing countries in order to seek a global solution to the problems of underdevelopment, and to achieve a new international economic order that will ensure the progress of each nation and the independent socioeconomic development of each people. Only thus will we be able to ensure peace and cooperation among all nations in the world. [cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, during the discussions we conducted these 2 days, we established a number of measures aimed at perfecting all activities in Hunedoara County and the Jiu Valley. I have not spoken about them at length because we agreed that the working people's councils and

the party organizations should report on and discuss these problems with all working people within the general meetings. However, firm measures and the rallying of all forces are necessary to rapidly eliminate negative situations and to improve all activities so that the working people in Hunedoara and the miners in the Jiu Valley will make an increasingly important contribution to the fulfillment of this year's plan, the overall 5-year plan, and the energy program. I do not think it is necessary to dwell on these problems. I know the miners in the Jiu Valley and the iron and steel workers in Hunedoara very well, and I am convinced that they will work with great determination, so that there will be a general improvement in all activities as early as the second quarter.

It is certainly necessary for the county party committee, the party committees, the party organization, together with all managerial councils and all working people, to work in complete unity, with greater determination, and in a revolutionary spirit to strengthen order and discipline in all areas. Let us see to it that the Jiu Valley will become a strong revolutionary detachment that yields greater amounts of coal and places its activity in the service of our homeland's development, of socialism, and communism. [cheers, chants]

With this conviction, I wish all miners, iron and steel workers, energy workers, all working people, and all residents in Hunedoara County increasingly better results in all areas, much good health, and great happiness. [cheers, chants]

Ceausescu Visits Jiu Valley Mining Units

AU2203190789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1633 GMT 22 Mar 89

["Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit in the Jiu Valley"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Continuing the working visit in Hunedoara County, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were guests on March 22 to the miners in the Jiu Valley, the chief Romanian coalfield, that has recorded vigorous development and profound renewing changes in the period inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress (1965).

Petrosani, Lupeni and Vulcan, Barbateni and Uricani, Paroseni and Petrila, Cimpu Lui Neag and Lonea are well-known names of mining units where the process of technological renewal is in full swing and the productions grow with every passing year. They are equally localities in full tide of development, where thousands of flats, canteens, polyclinics and dispensaries, high schools, general schools and kindergartens, sports grounds and halls and many other social-public facilities are built for miners and their families.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu began their visit in the Jiu Valley with the town of Lupeni.

The first unit visited there—the Lupeni mining enterprise, is a coal exploitation unit with an important share in the general production of the large Jiu Valley mining combine.

The party's general secretary analyzed together with representatives of the Lupeni mining enterprise's executive, of the Jiu Valley mining combine's executive and of the relevant ministry, of the local party and state bodies, with miners and experts, essential aspects of further development and modernization of the enterprises in that large coalfield of the country, so that the Jiu Valley mining combine increase its contribution to augmenting the coal production, especially the production of coking coal for the iron-and-steel industry.

President Nicolae Ceausescu, Mrs Elena Ceausescu were first shown, in an exhibition, a wide range of mining machinery, equipment and installations built by various Romanian works, currently used in the mines there, as well as the major achievements scored by the Jiu Valley miners in the fulfilment of the special programs of mine development and modernization, in increasing the production and labour productivity, improving the quality of the extracted coal.

Arresting the attention was the equipment for mechanized propping in coalfaces that, besides increasing labour productivity, also ensure highest safety of the work underground. Emphasized was also the great efficiency of the new heavy-duty conveyors with flights, used in long coalfaces, with double efficiency in carrying the coal out, as well as the auxiliary installations used in a better supply of the work places underground, in the general improvement of the mining technologies in the Jiu Valley enterprises.

President Nicolae Ceausescu requested that the experts further pay special heed to updating the mining equipment, to their full use, thus ensuring higher productivity and lessening the physical effort taken by mining.

Special emphasis was placed on the need for finding practical solutions of high efficiency for the drilling works, thus ensuring the shortening of the time taken for the opening of these new productive units and for the finalization of the new investments.

The analysis of the productive activity of the Lupeni mining enterprise continued underground, in the no. 3 production sector, level 400, that contributes some 20 per cent of the mine's production. The advantages were presented of the employment of the mechanized propping, hewing and conveying complexes run by the Lupeni mine, that has resulted in a tangible increase of labour productivity.

In the context of these measures a particular technological achievement was presented, which involves using face cutters without evacuation from the face, a technique which considerably cuts working time while allowing for important extra amounts of coal to be extracted.

Talking to a group of miners, the RCP general secretary asked about their working conditions, the way the plan provisions are being implemented and about their take-home money as a result of the application of the global agreement system. The miners thanked for the working conditions created and showed that, on the average, their pay is very good, distinctly higher than the average of other branches of the national economy, the pay depending on the results made in production. The workers assured the party general secretary that they would further make their contribution to enhancing the country's coal output.

At the conclusion of the visit, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu met with the members of the council of working people of the Jiu Valley mining combine and of Lupeni mine.

On behalf of all the people working in that powerful coal field of the country, the speakers most warmly thanked the RCP general secretary for the new working visit, for his constant preoccupation with the development and modernization of the mining industry, with improving the working and living conditions of the miners. Presented at length were the dynamics of the coking and steam coal output at the level of the Jiu Valley mining combine and its components, and the measures meant to help making up for the lags registered by some mines.

During the meeting, President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor.

Referring to the questions analysed during the visit and particularly to those related to providing all the conditions for the materialization of the plan provisions, the party general secretary highlighted that the measures set on the occasion must lead to a stronger mobilization of all the collectives of miners in the Jiu Valley with a view to further enhancing the pit coal output and attaining the planned levels in point of coking coal.

Next, the party general secretary referred at length to the need to materialize investments highly efficiently, to make thorough preparations for the commissioning of the new faces and to enhance the degree of mechanization. He asked that, in collaboration with the Ministry of Machine Building, a programme should be worked out for the development of highly efficient machines and complex equipment adapted to the local geological structures, to the concrete conditions in the mines of the Jiu Valley.

Referring to the training of the workforce for mining enterprises, Nicolae Ceausescu insisted on the need for priority to be attached to the issue, which is essential when it comes to turning out the output. He asked that work be done to recruit in due time the youths which are to qualify as miners, and to distribute adequately the graduates of the relevant schools in the Jiu Valley, and continuously improve the professional training of all the working people.

On leaving the collectivity of Lupeni mining enterprise and the inhabitants of Lupeni, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that during the visit he noted with satisfaction a number of good results made in the productive activity by the local workers and specialists. Showing that many things are still to be done in point of modernizing machinery and equipment, enhancing output and turning out quality coal, the head of the RCP and the Romanian state expressed the belief that the miners, all the working people of Lupeni and the Jiu Valley would use all their knowledge and resolve in order to contribute to enhancing the coal output, to the general development of the homeland, and thus to improving the material and spiritual standard of the whole nation.

Kosovo Presidency Condemns 23 Mar Demonstrations

LD2403181189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—Yesterday's gatherings and demonstrations are a direct attack on the decisions of the highest-ranking body of the province—the Kosovo Assembly—which endorsed the amendments to the Serbian Constitution. This is stated in the communique from the session of the Kosovo Presidency.

Attacks by individuals and groups on members of the security organs, as well as the attempted attack on the installations of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], the communique states, represent premeditated hostile attacks against our system, against the constitutional system, and against the integrity of our country. At the same time, this is a direct attack on the implementation of special measures of the SFRY Presidency aimed at the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo.

The Kosovo Presidency assessed the security situation in the province at today's emergency session, dwelling in particular on yesterday's gatherings and demonstrations of citizens and students of Albanian nationality in Urosevac and at the Pristina student center.

The Kosovo Presidency is calling on all citizens, working people, schoolchildren, and students, the communique states, not to yield to the provocations of Albanian nationalists and separatists, and not to accept their obscure goals directed against brotherhood, unity, fellowship, and of the further disruption of intranational relations.

The Presidency calls on members of all nations and nationalities in the province to carry out their work obligations and attend lectures through personal commitment, and to strive toward creating conditions for normal life and work.

The Kosovo Presidency session was also attended by Sinan Hasani, member of the SFRY Presidency, the communique from today's emergency session states.

Urosevac Municipal Committee President Resigns

LD2403180589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Urosevac, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—The president of the Presidium of the Urosevac League of Communists Municipal Committee, Muhamet Maljoku, resigned from duty at a session today. The Presidium accepted Maljoku's resignation and appointed Danus Ljuri as acting president.

Urosevac Demonstrations Continue, Become Violent

Demonstrators Dispersed 24 Mar

AU2403184489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] We have just received a report that shortly before 1800 this evening [1700 GMT], the security organs dispersed the last group of demonstrators in Urosevac, TANJUG reports. According to the reports so far, a militiaman has been injured. Miodrag Stojcic, Radio-Television Belgrade cameraman, has also been lightly injured. Eleven demonstrators have been detained.

Stones Thrown, Batons Used

AU2403192889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Kosta Krajincanic report]

[Text] Urosevac was the least quiet Yugoslav town today. Until 1 and ½ hours ago, demonstrations, mainly by students, continued in this town, for which those who know about Kosovo affairs say contains the largest number of Albanians indoctrinated with nationalist and separatist ideas.

After the morning calm, gatherings began early in the afternoon. At one time, there were over 2,000 demonstrators in the streets near the town center. They shouted the same slogans that could be heard yesterday and in the November demonstrations in Pristina. The loudest slogan was, "We will not yield the 1974 Constitution." According to the pattern displayed in November, there were shouts for Tito and the party, but at the same time one could also hear the chief slogan of the Albanian separatists, "Kosovo republic."

When the demonstrators moved through the town, strong militia forces sealed off the approaches to the main street. Stones were thrown at the militiamen, and they responded with batons. This scene was repeated several times. Tear gas was also used.

Clashes continued even after the militia succeeded in breaking up the group into several groups of 500 to 1,000 demonstrators each. The groups chiefly moved along the railroad line, from where the demonstrators threw stones at the militiamen. Security service personnel sustained injuries.

The clashes lasted until 1 and ½ hours ago. No firearms were used. It is calm in Urosevac now. Militia patrols are moving through the town, and they are not allowing any large groups to gather.

In Prizren at noon today, 150 students of the Higher Pedagogical School also tried to push to the center of the town and to demonstrate there, but militiamen prevented this without any use of force.

Dozens of ethnic Albanian workers stopped work in the Printeks and Komuna collectives of Prizren this morning. Work stoppages also occurred in some Podujevo collectives. In that town, ethnic Albanian secondary school students silently boycotted the lessons.

Lectures in Albanian were not held today in the law, medicine, and agricultural faculties in Pristina and in colleges in Urosevac, Prizren, and Titova Mitrovica.

This morning the Kosovo Presidency this morning assessed the security situation in the province after the ethnic Albanian demonstrations in Urosevac and the gathering of students in Pristina yesterday. It assessed that the gathering and demonstrations yesterday constitute direct opposition to the Kosovo Assembly decision giving its assent to the Serbian constitutional amendments yesterday.

Attacks by individuals and groups against security organs and Yugoslav People's Army property are a premeditated hostile attack on our system, our constitutional system, and the integrity of the country. They are at the same time a direct attack on the SFRY Presidency measures, the Kosovo Presidency believes. It appealed to all citizens, especially the students, not to follow the aims of Albanian nationalists and separatists.

Tear Gas Used Again

LD2403201489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1842 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—About 3,000 workers, pupils, and students demonstrated this afternoon in the center of Suvar Reka, near Prizen. They chanted the slogans which were heard in Urosevac yesterday and today. The demonstrators set off in the direction of the bus station, but they were dispersed as a result of the intervention of the members of the security organs, who were forced to use tear gas.

Security Intensified

AU2403214389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Milivoj Mihajlovic report]

[Excerpt] All is quiet in Kosovo tonight. There are no gatherings and no demonstrations. Only an increased number of militia patrols in the streets of the province's towns is a reminder of what happened earlier today.

In Urosevac, after fierce demonstrations and militia interventions today, the security organs have intensified their control, so that the town has been quiet since 1800 [1700 GMT].

The demonstrations began at about 1330 [1230 GMT]. A group of over 2,000 ethnic Albanian students marched in the town shouting slogans against the constitutional changes. One could also hear the slogan, Kosovo republic.

Only after stones were thrown at the security services personnel who tried to prevent the demonstrators from marching in the main street were rubber truncheons and tear gas used. Clashes between groups of demonstrators and the militia were occurring near the railroad line all afternoon. In the evening, even the most persistent and most belligerent demonstrators had dispersed. [passage omitted]

Up to 4,000 Protesters

LD2503135589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1309 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Text] Urosevac, 25 Mar (TANJUG)—Albanian nationalists and separatists organized demonstrations in Urosevac again at about noon today. Initially, a group of about 200 young people started shouting the well-known slogans in the city center, forcing the militia to intervene. When the group was pushed away to the side streets, new groups joined it. It is estimated that 3-4,000 Albanian citizens are presently demonstrating in several parts of the city.

Security forces are not allowing them to concentrate and make their way into the center.

Renewed Flare-Up Described

AU2503143289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Milivoj Mihajlovic report—recorded]

[Text] Urosevac again is not calm today. Demonstrations, chiefly by young Albanians, are under way. Milivoj Mihajlovic reports:

Like yesterday, it all started in the center of the town. The main street in Urosevac was full of young people, which is usual on a market day. Exactly at 1230 [1130 GMT], people on all sides started to shout the slogans that have been heard in the past 2 days.

Groups formed very rapidly. Chanting the slogan Tito—party, Kosovo yes—Metohija-no, from all sides they tried to push their way to the Brotherhood and Unity Square in front of the sociopolitical organizations building. Strong forces of security service personnel succeeded in preventing this.

In the side streets, large groups of several hundred demonstrators each formed, and they threw stones at the militia. Using tear gas, the militiamen succeeded in

pushing them back to the outskirts of the town. We have learned that there have been injuries among the militiamen, but not among the demonstrators. A number of these people were detained.

As we are reporting immediately before the newscast, the demonstrations are still going on. Security service personnel have difficulty keeping the situation under control because groups of demonstrators keep throwing stones at them from side streets.

The few journalists there were not spared today, either. The demonstrators broke the camera of the Pristina television team, and they attacked colleagues from Ljubljana television and our Radio-Television Belgrade team. Fortunately, no injuries have been sustained.

While we are reporting this, military planes and helicopters are flying over Urosevac. The demonstrations in Urosevac are still going on, and if one judges by the events yesterday and the day before yesterday, disorder will cease only after the security forces take energetic action.

More Forces Dispatched

LD2503154689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Text] Urosevac, 25 Mar (TANJUG)—The demonstrations in Urosevac are not stopping, even 3 hours after they began. Albanian separatists and nationalists took advantage of the fact that more people would gather here for market day in order to spread unrest once again.

Several groups of demonstrators are incessantly attacking the militia from the side streets and behaving in a very aggressive manner. A number of militiamen have been injured and the demonstrators also attacked several journalists and television crew members.

TANJUG in Pristina reports that new forces of the security organs have been sent to Urosevac armed with technical equipment for dispersing demonstrations.

[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1524 GMT on 25 March carries a report on the demonstrations which adds the following: "Strong security forces have dispersed the majority of demonstrators in Urosevac and are in control of all approaches to the town. The main streets were emptied by approximately 1530. The most persistent groups, however, continue stubbornly to try to organize themselves."]

Demonstrators Dispersed 25 Mar

AU2503160989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Text] Strong security forces have dispersed most of the demonstrators in Urosevac, and they control all the approaches to the town. The most inveterate little groups had doggedly striven to organize themselves.

New slogans were heard in Urosevac today: Constitution—republic; Better grave than slave; and occasionally, Kosovo—republic.

TANJUG Report on Rally

LD2503174489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1622 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Text] Urosevac, 25 Mar (TANJUG)—Ethnic Albanian nationalists and separatists today again succeeded in organizing demonstrations in Urosevac opposing the constitutional changes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo. The planners of the latest disturbances in the town, which since 1981 has been one of the greatest hotbeds of Albanian separatist forces, deliberately made use of market day, when many people are in Urosevac from the municipality and the outlying area.

In the morning all appeared quiet. There were a lot of people walking up and down the main street of Marsala Tita in the sunshine. Just after noon, at 1230, several small groups suddenly started to shout slogans which are by now familiar: "We have sworn that we will give our lives for Kosovo," "Kosovo yes, Metohija no" (which is supposed to be a response to calls for Kosovo to be called Kosovo-Metohija), and "We will not give up the 1974 Constitution." For the first time, the following slogan was heard: "Better the grave than a slave," as well as the separatist slogans: "Constitution-republic" and Kosovo-republic." These slogans were shouted in 1981 and in the following 2 years, when there were repetitions of separatist demonstrations in this town.

Police forces immediately intervened and succeeded in pushing a group of 200 of the first demonstrators into side streets. However, these people were joined by new groups from other parts of the town. At one time, there were about 4,000 ethnic Albanians directly or passively involved in demonstrations in several side streets. They became increasingly aggressive. Fanatical groups constantly pelted the security forces with stones. Several police officers as well as some journalists were hit by stones.

The intervention by security forces and the attacks by demonstrators on them lasted for more than 3 hours. During that time, people began leaving the town just after 1500 police reinforcements arrived with special technical means for breaking up demonstrations. These, however, were not used, because the majority of the demonstrators had retreated.

Among the participants in these disturbances, peasants were the least in evidence. They left the market and went home as soon as the disturbances started.

Today organizers could be seen who not only were more vocal than others, but some of whom even even wearing masks.

At one time, at about 1300, the demonstrators prevented the departure of a train on its way from Skopje Kosovo Polje. They even broke some windows on the engine and the railcars. The train nevertheless departed, 30 minutes late.

It is also interesting that today in Urosevac schools, were not operating, but a number of pupils gathered before the demonstrations in schoolyards and later joined the demonstrators. Just after 1600, the central part of the town was almost deserted, and security forces in strong numbers were controlling all approaches.

Calm 'Restored'

LD2503171989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1643 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Text] Urosevac, 25 Mar (TANJUG)—Following the several-hours-long demonstrations organized by Albanian separatists this afternoon, calm was restored at about 1600 GMT. The large security force is carrying out checks on access roads to and within the town.

A certain number of demonstrators moved to the neighboring village of Stimlje, where they organized separatists demonstrations.

Today's attack by Albanian separatists was the most aggressive so far. The demonstrators showered the police with stones and bricks, while some of them fired pistols. The security organs showed once again that they will smash any attempts to destroy constitutional order.

Reorganization Attempt Thwarted

LD2603141289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1231 GMT 26 Mar 89

[Text] Urosevac, 26 Mar (TANJUG)—In Urosevac today it was unusually quiet until 1200 [1000 GMT]. Reinforced security forces are patrolling the streets and a sizable number of private cars with foreign registration plates have been noticed. At about 1215 the quiet was broken by the siren of a police transport vehicle. In Brotherhood and Unity Square in the town center, a group of between 15 and 20 hooligans tried again to organize demonstrations, but they were dispersed by the rapid intervention of the security forces.

Demonstrations 'Premeditated'

LD2603205189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 26 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 26 Mar (TANJUG)—The demonstrations represent a premeditated, organized, and continuous counterrevolutionary activity by the enemy from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism which is aimed against the constitutional order, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's [LCY] policy, and the implementation of the special measures of the SFRY Presidency for the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo.

This is said in a statement by the All-People's Defense and Social Self-protection [ADP-SSP] Committee at its session today, where the political and security situation in the province was assessed with a particular regard to the demonstrations in Urosevac. The situation in the province is still complex and difficult, the statement says.

The demonstrations in Urosevac assumed a destructive and extremely aggresive character; therefore, the competent organs are called on to undertake all legally envisaged measures to suppress them completely.

The committee especially underlines the great responsibility of educational workers. They are dutybound to direct the young people properly, primarily by explaining to them the constitutional changes and the LCY'S policy, in order to steer them away from the wrong path and rescue them from the influence of Albanian nationalists and separatists who bring evil to the whole country and to all the nations and nationalities.

The APD SSP Committee concluded that enforced political activity should be continued across the whole province. The working people and citizens are required to be involved as much as possible in the consistent implementation of the SFRY Presidency's measures, and the Communists' duty is to persist to the very end in the struggle to carry out the stands and tasks of the top party and state organs.

Authorities Imprison Protesters

LD2603153789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1501 GMT 26 Mar 89

[Text] Urosevac 26 Mar (TANJUG)—The security organs in Urosevac detained 146 individuals, out of whom 64 were charged with minor offenses, during the 3-day demonstrations: 35 adults were sentenced to a month's imprisonment, and 4 were sentenced to 2 months' prison. They were immediately sent to serve their sentences. Proceedings for minor offenses are under way for seven adults, but evidence for criminal charges are also mbeing collected.

A 15-day prison sentence was given to eight teenagers, and two were meted out with a pedagogic measure—enforced monitoring. Proceedings are also under way for eight teenagers.

During the hostile demonstration, 14 militiamen were injured, 2 of them with serious injuries, while none of the demonstrators asked for medical help in the local hospital. There have been no concrete indications yet as to whether the organizers of the demonstrations are known to the officials.

Officials Discuss Situation

LD2603220489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2144 GMT 26 Mar 89

[Text] Urosevac, 26 Mar (TANJUG)—Urosevac streets are quiet tonight. They are being patrolled by the forces of law and order.

A session of the All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee began tonight. It is being attended by several senior officials of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee, of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia Central Committee, and of the Presidium of the LC of Kosovo Provincial Committee.

A statement is expected to be issued from the session, probably not before morning.

Statement by Local Authorities

LD2703091689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0645 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Urosevac, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—The objective of the recent demonstrations organized by Albanian nationalists and separatists was to oppose constitutional changes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and measures by top party and state organs to resolve the situation and restore smooth relations in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as soon as possible. This is the assessment made during last night's session of the Presidium of the LC [League of Communists] Municipal Committee and the All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee of Urosevac Municipality. During the session, the political and security situation in the Municipality was assessed as being complex and critical.

Several members of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee, the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, and the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo took part in the session.

The Presidium and the committee also concluded that these demonstrations were a continuation of the counterrevolutionary demonstrations of 1981, the November [1988] protest meetings and rallies, and the February [1989] protest meetings and strikes.

The demonstrations during the past 3 days, stresses the statement issued after this session, have been characterized by their extent, aggression, arrogance, and destructive methods, which have seriously violated public peace and order and have jeopardized the constitutional order in our country.

The Presidium and the committee stated that the recent enemy demonstrations have been directly armed against our socialist system, brotherhood, unity, and equality among our nations and nationalities. The most damage, in fact, was done to the Albanian ethnic group, which in Tito's Yugoslavia, has experienced full affirmation in all areas of life and work, and which has tied its future to LCY policy.

The Presidium and the committee pointed out that in order to achieve their sinister objectives, the enemies are taking advantage of young people who have been led astray. The ringleaders and the people who have provoked the demonstrations are leading young people, pupils, and students astray. This is why we are appealing to parents to use their influence, parental advice, and authority as heads of the household to prevent their children from being poisoned with enmity and nationalism, says the statement issued following the session. Every parent is responsible for the attitude of their child toward their conscience, society, and the law.

The Presidium and the committee have reminded the teachers, instructors, professors, form tutors, and heads of educational establishments that they are responsible for the education of pupils, and that with their educational activity, they are responsible for their socialist orientation.

The managers and all the heads of self-management, political, and management organs and organizations are responsible for the constant implementation of all the measures prescribed by the state and political organs in the country, and the violence and the insane behavior which have been rocking this municipality for quite some time now must end, because it does not lead anywhere.

The Presidium and the All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee of Urosevac appeal to all citizens, workers, pupils, and students to act and become involved to create conditions to allow a normal process of work and regular school attendance to take place. In so doing, they will help remove all negative trends in the municipality and will make their full contribution to the overall stabilization of the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, concludes the statement from last night's session.

Meetings Take Place

LD2703101189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0918 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Urosevac, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—Many meetings are taking place in Urosevac today in local communities, work organizations, and schools. These meetings are in the process of concluding that the demonstrations of the past 4 days were the work of Albanian nationalists and separatists and were designed to bring down our constitutional system.

In addition, several meetings are under way in the municipality with parents, especially mothers. Their attention is being drawn to the fact that their children's participation in demonstrations means that they are in fact taking part in a counterrevolution organized by Albanian separatists.

A session of the Presidium of the Municipal Conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Urosevac is also under way. It is understood that President Ali Sabani intimated a desire to resign because of his objective responsibility for some young people in this organization who are on the side of Yugoslavia's enemies.

Urosevac Said 'Quiet'

LD2703085789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0813 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—In most Kosovo collectives and schools, work and classes are normal this morning.

Work proceeds in Stari Trg without any problems, while in Goles mine, the first 25 miners finally descended into the mine to dig out the magnesite ore. The majority, however, did not want to work today either, although they did come to the pit. Many among them will have to report to the offenses magistrate for infringement of the compulsory work order.

The situation in Urosevac is quiet but tense at the moment. This is testified to by the fact that many secondary school pupils of Serb and Montenegrin nationality are missing school because of the fear of provocation by Albanian nationalists and separatists.

174 Reportedly Arrested

LD2703133389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina 27 Mar (TANJUG)—The security organs have detained 174 individuals in the wake of several days of demonstrations by people espousing Albanian nationalism and separatism. Of those arrested, 78 have already been sentenced for minor offenses, and 7 will face criminal proceedings.

Militia Commander Dies in Podujeveo Protests

LD2703132289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-croatian 1258 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—A militia commander, Jutulah Keci, died of injuries sustained during the destructive demonstrations in Podujevo. This afternoon about 4,000 citizens of Albanian nationality took part in these demonstrations. In fights with the security organs, five individuals were injured. This afternoon in a number of towns in Kosovo, demonstrations were organized from the positions [passage indistinct]

Further Report

AU2703133189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] We have just received another report from Kosovo. Here is Milivoje Mihajlovic:

Demonstrations by mainly young ethnic Albanians started in Podujevo this morning. Several thousand young people demonstrated through the town. They threw stones at the police and some shots were also heard. As we have learned from reliable sources, the head of the Podujevo police station, Jutulah Keci, was killed, while another inspector of the secretariat for internal affairs, Zoran Korac, was injured.

The demonstrators were dispersed with tear gas and batons. Around 1430 [1230 GMT] the demonstrators started to gather again between the hotel (Las) and the communal committee building. They stoned a bus belonging to Nis Expres. All accesses to the town are blocked. Journalists are not able to enter the town, either.

Demonstrations were also held in Lipljan, where the militiamen swiftly dispersed a group of some 500 secondary school students. The demonstrations in Srbica and an attempt to hold demonstrations in Pec ended in the same way.

Ljubljana Radio Comments on Kosovo Vote

AU2403210089 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Vito Avgustin talk]

[Text] Let us leave aside any assessment about whether the constitutional amendments were good or bad. Let us leave aside the question of who is good and who is bad. The facts were and remain that on one side, all the Kosovo forums and bodies simply competed with each other to determine which one would give a clearer support to the Serbian amendments, and that on the other side, the opposition to these amendments among the Albanian people was growing more and more. It is a fact that a state of emergency is in force in Kosovo, and it is a fact that the decision on the most important document of a sociopolitical community was made in this atmosphere.

The two things do not match. The amendments, officially adopted with a great majority, including Article 47, which deprives the Kosovo Assembly of the right to participate in the decision when constitutional laws are adopted for the entire territory of Serbia—for it only provides for the expression of an opinion that may be taken into consideration or not—at this moment leave a bitter taste of illegitimacy.

I repeat that we are not judging on the bona fide of anything. It is certainly true that it cannot be imposed by force, or to put it unequivocally, that the well-known differentiation in Kosovo in the weeks before the provincial assembly vote followed a simple formula: He who is in favor of the amendments is all right, he who questions them is an irredentist. This was not a democratic public discussion.

If we still do not enter into judging who is right and who is wrong, it is also clear that with such moves, Serbia has in fact lost Kosovo for a time. As a colleague said today, Yugoslavia today is not what it was yesterday. In this context, Kosovo is becoming a Yugoslav problem more and more. It is a field where the visions of the future road for all of us are battling, and they are exclusive visions.

The proper problems, worse problems, are still ahead of us, whether they concern Kosovo itself, the economy, social problems, the majority and minority problem, trust, the demographic policy, or the methods of work, agreement, political ambitions of individuals or people, and the framework of tomorrow for each and every one of us.

Outsiders Reportedly Behind Pristina Protests

LD2403203589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1607 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—It has been quiet today outside the Pristina student center after yesterday's gatherings. According to today's calculations, about 1,000 students are inside the dormitories. Instead of the usual 6,500 students, only about 2,000 of them have been eating their meals in the student cafeteria in recent days, while today this number was further reduced to about 880.

In connection with the demonstrations of Albanian students, the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection noted that yesterday's events represented a continual action from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

The committee also noted that the main instigators of demonstrations were "missionaries" from the outside.

Velimir Nedeljkovic, director of the student center, says that so far there is no information about any material damage caused to the buildings of the student center during yesterday's demonstrations.

Morina Addresses Pristina University Staff

AU2303121889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Mar 89 p 1

[M.A. report: "'Appeal' Was Against Progress"]

[Text] Pristina, 20 Mar—Rahman Morina, president of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC], today held talks with the Pristina University leadership. He was briefed on the current situation at the university by Stevan Baljosevic, head of Pristina University, and Skender Karahoda, president of the LC action conference.

They said that the recent events in the province had affected life and work in this higher education institution. The Communists and other progressive forces largely accept the conclusions and assessments of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, although only future activities will show to what extent this acceptance is real and to what extent they are verbal.

Addressing the university leadership, Rahman Morina said, among other things:

"For years, the Communists and working people have had a critical attitude toward the university, toward its activities, and toward certain members of the staff. One should understand this critical attitude in view of the fact that much more was expected from the teaching staff and students...."

Morina also said that the political-security situation at the university continues to be complicated. This is proved by the fact that a great number of university teachers have signed an appeal of a group of intellectuals concerning constitutional changes.

Among the signatories of the appeal, Morina said, there are some people who were expelled from the LC after 1981 for acting from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism. Also among the signatories are those to whom the party stands on constitutional changes must be completely clear, especially because they are members of certain party forums, or occupy leading posts. This is an unacceptable attitude toward the party to which they belong and the aims for which they fight. In the last few days, some Communists, including some prominent and recognized experts, said that they did not know what they were signing.

The frequently heard theses, Morina continued, that the Kosovo LC is in a clash with intelligentsia are not well intentioned. The Kosovo LC is not in a clash with the intelligentsia, but is in a clash with those who do not accept the LC policies, who act from nationalist positions, those who oppose the LC's assessments and stands, and those who verbally support the LC policies, but in practice work against them.

Now, when many things have become clearer, when the LC has become more active with regard to numerous issues, when in our ideological struggle we have a clear view of topical issues, we will more rapidly create a favorable sociopolitical climate, in which we will be able to solve problems at the university and stimulate new currents and motives for cooperation and for bringing the faculties of Pristina University closer together, as well as closer to other universities in the country, Rahman Morina concluded.

Demonstrations Follow Pristina Soccer Match
LD2603172389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 26 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 26 Mar (TANJUG)—A throng of about 1,000 demonstrators gathered after a football match between Pristina and Borac, outside the building of sociopolitical organizations in the center of Pristina. They were shouting the well-known slogans from the nationalist and separatist catalogue.

When a militia van turned up, the demonstrators dispersed into the nearby streets. This lasted for about 10 minutes, at about 1730 today.

Hundreds of Albanian Students March in Lipljan
LD2703120589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1148 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Lipljan, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—Several hundred ethnic Albanian students at the Lipljan secondary school took to the streets today, demonstrating and shouting the notorious Albanian separatist slogans. The security forces managed to drive them out of the main street, but the demonstrators split into two groups and marched through other parts of Lipljan.

Kosovo Assembly Debates Constitutional Changes
LD2403233789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1121 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—Work on changing a part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia Constitution has proceeded from a firm commitment not to change the main principles of the 1974 Constitution, from the fundamental principles of our system and of the socialist revolution, and from the need to consistently achieve the full national equality of our nations and nationalities. This was said by Vukasin Jokanovic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo, in an introductory report at a joint session of all three chambers of the provincial assembly, at which Kosovo Assembly delegates will give their view of the proposed amendments to the Socialist Republic of Serbia Constitution.

After agreeing on the agenda at their separate sessions and establishing that the joint session will have a quorum, the delegates met to listen to a report by the president of the provincial assembly, Vukasin Jokanovic, who spoke in great detail about the proposed amendments to the Socialist Republic of Serbia Constitution.

Speaking about the substance of the constitutional changes and the public debate on them in the province, Vukasin Jokanovic said that the main commitment is to continue to respect the constitutional position of the socialist autonomous provinces and to consolidate unity and togetherness in our republic. It is necessary to enable the Socialist Republic of Serbia, as a state and a self-managing community, to carry out its required functions on its entire territory while, at the same time, enabling the autonomous provinces to exercise their autonomy, and to create conditions whereby the SAP's can function as both integral parts of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and as constituent elements of Yugoslav federalism.

Recalling the stands and assessments from the 13th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress, the First LCY Conference and the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, Jokanovic went on to reiterate that the proposed amendments will in no way change the fundamental constitutional principles. They do not threaten the status of the provinces as the constitutive elements of Yugoslav federalism or their direct representation in the federation and its organs, nor their right to take an independent part in the decisionmaking process. The provinces' rights to self-organization and to their own constitution remains unaffected. The provinces will continue to be responsible for their own development and at the same time for the development of the republic and of the federation. Their right to economic and financial autonomy will not be changed. In the legislative sphere, the provinces will retain their right to administer all those issues which, in the common interest, are not administered either under the federal Constitution or the Socialist Republic of Serbia Constitution.

The equality of the languages of the nations and nationalities will be fully safeguarded. The provinces will retain all their functions in the spheres of defense and internal affairs. They will have their territorial defense headquarters and the security service. They will also continue to carry out other functions which are hallmarks of their autonomy and which, in no way, are threatened by the current changes in the Constitution. All this serves as evidence of how untruthful and unfounded are the claims that the amendments will threaten the fundamental features of the autonomous provinces.

In fact, the changes are aimed at eliminating all the mistakes and shortcomings in economic and political relations which, as experience has shown, have led to crisis, bad intranational relations, nationalism, and various forms of alienation ,thus threatening the existence of our community and blocking the way to a modern, developed, rich, and democratic socialist self-managing society, Jokanovic stressed.

These constitutional changes will not serve to deprive anyone of his freedoms and rights. On the contrary, the Socialist Republic of Serbia guarantees that all people living on its territory, regardless of their nationality, religion, sex, or other specific features. are genuinely equal everywhere and that their equality cannot be threatened either by their work organization, local community, municipality, the province, or the republic.

Work on the amendments was carried out in a large number of working bodies and groups, and in the Commission for Constitutional Issues of the Assembly of the

Socialist Republic of Serbia with full and active participation of representatives from the autonomous provinces, Jokanovic noted. It can therefore be said that the amendments are a result of joint efforts and patient and responsible harmonization. Our representatives in these bodies were fully involved in their work. Their contribution to many important issues is undeniable and is all the more important since it resulted from proposals and suggestions made by the Commission for Constitutional Issues of the Kosovo SAP, Jokanovic said.

Our views on several issues were taken into consideration because it was felt they were in line with the aims of the current constitutional reform.

It is certain that the numerous demands expressed in the public debate—for example in the republic proper and in Vojvodina—did not go into the amendments because such views were not acceptable from the point of view of the established aims of the constitutional changes. These are, above all, those proposals made in the public debate which we jointly assessed as unacceptable and unprincipled because they imfringed on basic principles and on the characteristic of the province as a constituent factor within the federation, or proposals to reduce the Constitution of the province to a constitutional law or statute, Jokanovic said. But at the same time it is certain that in specific instances we also had to have an understanding for the views expressed in other parts of the republic, despite the fact that in our province there were certain reservations about them. However, unprincipled compromises were not made.

Readiness for compromises and solutions deviating from the fundamental orientations and values of our socialist revolution, the equality of nations and nationalities, brotherhood and unity, and the essence of the autonomous nature of the province—which is in the lasting interest of all the nations and nationalities living in it equally—has not existed, nor will it exist. Common solutions were only accepted where they could be placed within the framework of the general initial aims of the constitutional changes.

Jokanovic gave a detailed analysis of the question of lanquages which has aroused special attention in the province. In drafting the amendments there was no dispute at all over the fact that the basic starting principle must be that of the equality of Serbo-Croat and the languages of the nationalities, Jokanovic said. [passage omitted]

In the Kosovo SAP Constitution there is a vagueness which, among other things, makes it possible for one language to be favored in official and public usage, while another is suppressed, something which has been noted and assessed as a failing. In practice, there have been failures and inconsistencies as well. Jokanovic pointed out that some of them have been eliminated by political action. The changes being made to the Socialist Republic of Serbia Constitution and to the Kosovo SAP Constitution will ensure the full equality of languages so that no one language will be able to be excluded or neglected.

In view of the sensitivity of this question, there were unfounded claims that the adoption of the amendments to the Socialist Republic of Serbia Constitution would reduce some of the rights of the nationalities and restrict the use of their languages. However, the true aim and purpose of the constitutional changes in this field is, and has been, precisely to ensure and guarantee the equality of Serbo-Croat, in fact to prevent it from being squeezed out, and to prevent the weaknesses there have been: Here the right of members of the Albanian nationality to use Albanian, and in areas where Turks live, to use Turkish in state organs, in the information media, in education, and in public life in general, will in no way be diminished nor encroached upon. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted; TANJUG parts 7-11 not received]

Delegate Halit Ahmeti "warned" the delegates to the Kosovo Assembly to behave as delegates and not as envoys and not to represent their own nation but the broadest social base. According to Ahmeti, no one has the right to act as a national envoy. Kosovo is not a province of Albanians, said Halit Ahmeti, nor of one or another nationality. Kosovo is a province belonging to all. That is how it is going to be, Ahmeti stressed.

Nothing comes to us from the sky, said Ahmeti, not the schools, the factories, or the universities. All this is the result of LCY policy. None of these—and neither language nor other national rights—have been denied by the constitutional amendments.

His stand was that the situation should not continue to be heated by these amendments. The situation in Kosovo is already hot enough. It is high time to return to factories and schools; students should return to their books. and we should all work and produce.

However, some Albanian delegates today continued openly to express reservations regarding the amendments to the Serbian Constitution. For instance, a number of delegates called for the "verification" of some amendments. Amendment 47, which regulates the changes to the Serbian Constitution, was referred to most. Some delegates claimed that this amendment had not been submitted for public discussion and warned that for the time being it cannot be voted on.

Delegate Melihate Trmkoli became involved in a detailed "examination" of the position of Serbia and said that Serbia is a republic with a specific position which, in her opinion, means a state of a special type because of the two provinces within it. For Melihate Trmkoli, this is Serbia's privilege and she therefore does not understand equating the position of this republic with other socialist republics in Yugoslavia. This would mean, according to her, the abolition of the autonomy of provinces. [passage omitted]

Similar "arguments" against Amendment 47 were voiced by delegate Uka Riza. In his words, the framework for the changes to the Serbian Constitution was not adhered to. He therefore suggested that no consent be given to Amendments 29 and 47 which were claimed not to have been submitted for public discussion. [passage omitted:]

Bajram Bucani asked why Amendment 47 had not been mentioned earlier in the version such as the one presented to the delegates. He "earned himself" applause from several delegates after saying that investigative organs should apply the same measures to everyone and not "hit some and spare the others." [passage omitted]

Daut Jasanica, president of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Provincial Conference, stressed that a vast number of workers and citizens support the constitutional changes in Serbia because of the efficiency of the economic and political system and a better-quality life in the province. Some delegates to this assembly, said Jasanica, are asking questions as if the constitutional changes were allegedly encroaching upon the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] principles. This is not true, he said, and today we must crown the exceptional activity which has been carried out throughout the province. [passage omitted]

The delegates of all the three chambers of the Kosovo Assembly gave the green light to the constitutional changes in the republic and province after a public ballot. Consent was given by a majority vote to the inclusion of Amendments 9 to 49 in the Serbian Constitution. Only 10 delegates were firmly against, and 2 abstained. This solemn act, as it was described by many, ended with a long, standing ovation. Assembly President Vukasin Jokanovic stressed in his brief address to the delegates that this historic day will be the beginning of a better and happier future for everyone in the province.

Presidency Approves Serbian Constitution Changes

LD2403173989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1646 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 24 (TANJUG)—Yesterday's decision by Kosovo's parliament to approve the amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, of which the Autonomous Province of Kosovo is an integral part, has created the constitutional prerequisites for the effective functioning of the republic and provinces, and this, on its part, for the stabilization of the political situation in Serbia and Yugoslavia as a whole, the Yugoslav State Presidency assessed today.

The collective state Presidency assessed yesterday's demonstrations by citizens in the town of Urosevac and students in Pristina where there were harsh violations of public law and order (?and) the security organs were attacked, as attempts of directly opposing the legitimate and democratically-adopted decision of the provincial parliament.

These events are detrimental to the situation in the province and its position, the state Presidency assessed.

The Yugoslav Presidency insists that all Kosovo citizens respect the special (?measures) introduced in the province on February 27 following strikes by miners and contribute to the stabilization of the situation by regularly performing their work obligations and citizens' duties.

The Presidency also ordered all state organs responsible for implementing the special measures, to protect by all legally envisaged means, the constitutional order, public law and order, personal security and property of all citizens and socially-owned property, which was the reason for the special measures to be introduced.

Slovene Response to Kosovo Changes Viewed

AU2403210489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Zivojin Jerotijevic report: "Slovenia a Day After the Kosovo Assembly Decision To Adopt the Amendments to the Constitution of Serbia"]

[Text] There has been no official reaction in Slovenia yet to the Kosovo Assembly decision to give its assent to the amendments to the Constitution of Serbia. The first unofficial but authoritative opinion was expressed last night during a meeting of the directors and chief editors of Yugoslav radio television stations with the leading personages of Slovenia. The meeting was attended by Marko Bulc, Joze Smole, Dusan Sinigoj, and Milan Kucan.

Asked to comment on the results of the vote in the Kosovo Assembly, Kucan diplomatically replied: One could not expect any other results after such thorough political preparations. He said he feared a possible abstention by the ethnic Albanian delegates, but when he learned that the assembly was meeting, he no longer worried about the outcome.

At that time, those present at the reception did not yet know about the disorders in Urosevac and Pristina.

In Slovene political structures, the opinion prevails that the constitutional amendments should not have been adopted as long as the SFRY Presidency emergency measures continue. In the context of what happened at the Cankar Hall gathering recently, Milan Kucan said last night that the gathering, and especially some of the speeches, perhaps constituted a political error, but he

kept to the view that Slovenia was against a state of emergency logic. Kucan avoided an answer to a question that seems logical: Who in Yugoslavia favors a state of emergency logic?

The spirit of this opinion is reflected by a political cartoon published on the front page of DELO today. Milan Maver's cartoon shows the scene when the Serbian amendments—as they are incautiously called here—were adopted, surrounded by tanks and guns and fighter planes, making a delegate to remark that the arguments are so persuasive that one would raise both hands.

This metaphor of surrender has not met with any broad reaction yet, although the DELO editors did their best by putting the cartoon on the front page.

Kosovo Veterans Support Constitutional Changes

LD2003144389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1244 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 20 Mar (TANJUG)—At its session today the members of the Presidium of the Kosovo Federation of Veterans' Associations [SUBNOR] supported a proposal for the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia.

The Kosovo veterans appealed to the delegates of the provincial assembly to assent to the changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia at a session of the Kosovo Assembly scheduled to take place in 3 days.

Taking part in the work of the session, Milan Pribic, president of the Federal Board of SUBNOR of Yugoslavia, said that Albanian nationality benefits by the constitutional changes, while it loses nothing, despite what the nationalists are claiming. The SR of Serbia also gains, as it is finally enabled to constitute itself over its entire territory, something that was taken away from it in 1974.

Kosovo SAWP Condemns MLADINA, DANAS

AU2203205989 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 89 p 5

[TANJUG report: "The Writing of MLADINA and DANAS Is Malicious, Tendentious, and Untrue"]

[Text] Pristina, 17 Mar—The Provincial Conference Presidium of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] decisively condemns the circulation of the familiar and unacceptable standpoints of MLADINA and DANAS, and considers their articles malicious, tendentious, and untrue. This particularly refers to the parts of the DANAS article which state: "The coming days in the province could be very heated, because a decisive battle is being waged over the question of the constitutional status of Serbia and its provinces," and the publication in this magazine of sentences from MLADINA, stating: "The Provincial Assembly delegates are being summoned to UDBA [abbreviation of former title of Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, used in the early postwar period] to discuss and agree on this matter."

The communique from yesterday's meeting of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium stresses as an official standpoint that the media play a significant role in stabilizing the political, security, and general situation in the province with objective and timely reporting. However, the presidium pointed out, some public media, through articles and commentaries based on unchecked facts, are objectively serving to help oppose all efforts to overcome the present situation in the province.

Therefore, the communique states, the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium appeals to all media to make their reporting from and about Kosovo serve mutual understanding, rapprochement, the consideration of all the peoples and nationalities, the strengthening of interethnic relations, and brotherhood and unity.

Federal SAWP Stands on Kosovo, Unity Outlined

AU2303090489 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 89 p 6

[TANJUG report: "By Strengthening a United Front Against Dangerous Divisions"]

[Text] The Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia appeals to all working people and citizens and all organized socialist forces, above all in Kosovo, to determinedly and responsibly carry out their constitutional, legal, political, and work obligations and duties. This call is included in the stands and tasks for strengthening a united front of action for determinedly preventing the further exacerbation of the political situation in the country, which were adopted at the session of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] held on 1 March, at which the current political situation in the country was discussed.

Support for the Measures in Kosovo

The stands, whose text was issued to journalists yesterday, state that under the conditions of the special measures of the SFRY Presidency, this kind of attitude toward one's own duties will contribute toward most effectively protecting the constitutional order in Kosovo and ensuring conditions for the operation of paralyzed institutions of the economic and political system.

The Federal Conference of the SAWPY supports the measures of the SFRY Presidency and considers them to be necessary at this moment, for they defend the peace, security, dignity, and the personal and material safety of all working people and citizens in Kosovo.

All Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] organizations and organs, as well as parts of the front, are also called upon to show maximum commitment in preventing, rendering impossible, and eradicating divisions in interethnic relations, and determinedly opposing all anti-self-management and antisocialist activity.

The stands underline that in its activity, the SAWP is obliged to foster constructive dialogue and democratic and well-argued discussion on all open questions, and to do everything to overcome differences in outlook and conduct. A united Yugoslav policy must be ensured toward Kosovo, especially involving unity among the political leadership, because their confrontations and divisions polarize all forces in the country and objectively hinder the implementation of the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] on Kosovo.

The stands of the federal conference state that specific responsibility must be demanded from all those carrying out the tasks laid down in the Yugoslav program on Kosovo, because this program is not being realized and the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under pressure is still continuing. They particularly stress the need for a realization and constant expansion of an action front among members of all peoples and nationalities in Kosovo, in order to involve them in the struggle to overcome interethnic friction and divisions.

The Socialist Alliance insists that the most recent events in Kosovo should be assessed in detail as soon as possible, and that the public should be informed of this. It especially insists that the competent organs inform the mass Yugoslav public as soon as possible of the names of the organizers of the strikes and the counterrevolution in Kosovo, and call them to account.

Unacceptable Resignations Under Pressure

The federal conference deplored the submission of the resignations of cadres who have in practice shown themselves to be outstanding fighters in implementing LCY policy on Kosovo.

The Socialist Alliance will do its utmost to ensure that Kosovo does not become a breeding ground for divisions and differences, but a region of the unification in policy and action of Yugoslav society in the struggle against all attempts to undermine the country's sovereignty and integrity, and to destroy its constitutional order and the heritage of the socialist revolution.

The stands of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY especially lay down tasks for reforming economic conditions and overcoming the high inflation rate. In this context, they state that it is necessary as soon as possible to free the economy from administrative regulations, and from its confinement and straitjacketing within narrow republican and provincial bounds.

The Socialist Alliance will commit itself to introducing a reform of the political system at the same time as reforming the economy. For this purpose, it will struggle for the consistent enactment of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution, as well as speedy constitutional changes in the republics and provinces.

The stands also underline the duty of SAWP to critically examine the motives for the emergence of new forms of political organization.

The Socialist Alliance, it is stressed, will determinedly oppose the creation of sociopolitical and other social organizations and associations of citizens whose activity is incompatible with the constitutional system of our country and whose programs are not directed toward the development and defense of this system.

The public media are required to make a maximum contribution to the general struggle against the counterrevolution in Kosovo. The part of the stands devoted to public information states that the SAWP will fight for a prompt, full, and true reporting to the public of all important political events. The Socialist Alliance will resolutely oppose the phenomenon of some newspapers generating social conflict among the communes, provinces and republics, and among the peoples and nationalities.

Some Workers Still Refusing To Work in Mines

LD2603132289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1131 GMT 26 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 26 Mar (TANJUG)—Not all the miners and workers summoned to work were working in the Kosovo mines last night or this morning. This is the case in the pit of the Goles mine, where only 6 out of the 86 workers of the third shift came to work. At the separation plant of the mine, however, all those called to work did come.

At the Stari Trg mine, about 50 of the miners who were summoned were not working. A slightly smaller response was registered at the Kisnica and Novo Brdo mines, where 264 out of 455 miners came to work.

Pec Situation 'Somewhat More Favorable'

AU2403164689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Olivera Boskovic report]

[Text] The political-security situation in the Pec commune is somewhat more favorable today. Work went on normally in all the work collectives, institutions, and primary and secondary schools. At the 11 May Secondary School and at the Technical School Center, there were attempts to boycott lessons in four classes that are taught in Albanian. After talks with teachers, lessons were held and classes continued normally.

Ethnic Albanian students at the Veljko Vlahovic Economic High School in Pec did not attend lectures today; they stopped attending yesterday.

Because of a poor organization of duty schedules, charges were filed in seven cases against leaders of work organizations in the commune: the Erozija work organization, the post office, the Beli Drim water supply organization, the Planinka printing works, the Ljubljana Bank branch in Pec, and the Kosovo Property and Personal Insurance Community.

Because of violations of work obligations, 80 charges were filed in the communal misdemeanors court against the Ramiz Sadiku automobile parts plant workers.

Milan Kucan Addresses Pluralism in Slovenia

LD2503183589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1706 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 25 (TANJUG)—Slovenian party leader Milan Kucan said that pluralism was the characteristic of Slovenia, adding that the real danger was of pluralism developing into party pluralism. This danger, however, should not thwart pluralism and democratization of political life in general.

Kucan believes that a more realistic danger lies in preserving party monopoly, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes today citing excerpts from talks between Kucan and Slovenian leaders and the managers of Yugoslav radio and television centres in Ljubljana.

Admitting that strengthening of separatism and confederalism was another danger, Kucan said that unitarism was a more realistic political danger.

He said that a reform of the League of Communists could be the key to all other reforms.

On the situation in the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, Kucan said that it is inseparable from the situation in the whole country, which is characterized by constant debates on imposed topics, different political interpretations of individual events in the state of emergency in Kosovo and the introduction of law and order.

The basic task is to reach an agreement on the Yugoslav economic reform as a whole and its philosophy, Kucan said.

He admitted that not all Slovenes saw their future in Yugoslavia as it is now, "precisely because it does not have the answers to many essential questions."

Kucan also said that the meeting in Cankarjev Dom in Ljubljana, which voiced support to the ethnic Albanian miners' strike in Kosovo last month, "may have been a political mistake."

Kucan recalled that the Slovenian leadership did not at the time know about the background of the strike which was aimed at opposing the consitutional changes in the Republic of Slovenia.

He also said that the Ljubljana meeting was not aimed against the introduction of special measures in Kosovo, but it opposed the logicality of a state of emergency.

Kucan said that the Slovenian parliament, the Slovenian Socialist Alliance and the Slovenian League of Communists would next month discuss the reactions provoked by the meeting in Cankarjev Dom.

He also said he was against the practice of declaring everything that happens as premeditated and synchronized actions.

"If we want pluralism, we should accept risks. The risks in Cankarjev Dom were high, higher than expected, but it is not true that all divisions in the country began on February 28, 1989," Kucan said.

Slovene Peasant Alliance Annual Meeting Held

AU2303095589 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 16 Mar 89 p 3

[Danilo Utenkar report: "Peasants Want an Opportunity to Elect Their Delegates"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 15 Mar—The Slovene Peasant Alliance, whose delegates met at their first annual general meeting in the Union Hall today, now has almost 80 branches and about 20,000 members. The annual meeting proceeded in a discussion of burning economic problems; the participants adopted a program of work for the coming year; Ivan Oman was again elected president of the alliance; and the proposal by the managing committee concerning the rehabilitation of the persecuted and convicted innocent peasants in the fifties had a strong echo.

In reporting on the work of the Slovene Peasant Alliance, Ivan Oman stressed that great unionizing work has been accomplished in less than a year—setting up local, communal, and intercommunal branches—and all attention will now have to be paid to strengthening the organization. In many communes, as well as in the republic, the alliance is often reproached for dealing more with politics than with economic problems, but Ivan Oman replied to the reproaches, saying that what is involved is certainly political work, which nobody should forget. The proposal that the peasants should finally receive the opportunity to elect their delegates to the republican assembly is certainly among important political demands of the Slovene Peasant Alliance.

Speaking about relations in Yugoslavia, Oman asked who profits from the quarrels between the Serbs and the Slovenes. He said that we talk a great deal about brotherhood and unity in our country, but we should admit

that even brothers do not always think alike. Regarding the support for the Slovene leadership, he said that this support cannot be unconditional if the politicians push the Slovene peasants into a hopeless economic position.

Dr Franc Zagozen presented some requests from the alliance program, among them the request that former cooperative property be returned to peasants. He repeated the request to set up a peasant forestry chamber, because Slovene peasants believe that it could radically help to improve their economic position. Because some politicians oppose the suggestion that a chamber be set up, Franc Zagozen called on all who think that they can offer a better organization to get to work without delay.

Ivan Pucnik presented the position of the alliance managing committee on the rehabilitation of the peasants convicted in the fifties. He stressed that precisely the same injustice was perpetrated against numerous peasants as against those convicted in the Dachau trials. Not all the injustice, of course, can be made good, but society must find an opportunity to repay the moral debt.

Branko Podobnik spoke about the agricultural produce price policy and expressed the opinion that one should not blame only the federal organs for all the shortcomings, because our republic also conducts a peculiar price policy, which in most cases is to the detriment of the farmers. He thought that Dusan Sinigoj, president of the republican executive council, and Milan Knezevic, president of the committee for agriculture, are also responsible for such a situation. The proposal that the republican executive council should resolve the price conundrum within 2 months was given loud support by those present; and they also supported the suggestion that otherwise they should talk about a request for the resignation of the president of the executive council and the minister of agriculture.

Slovene National Program

The participants at the general meeting of the Slovene Peasant Alliance gave unanimous support to the proposal submitted to the gathering by Dimitrij Rupel on behalf of the Slovene Democratic Alliance. Other organizations should also express their opinion on the proposal in the coming days.

The democratic alliance proposes to the Slovene Assembly that it draft a Slovene national program which will ensure the normal development of the Slovene state in peacetime. The assembly should use the opportunity of the present constitutional amendments to introduce democratic elements that will provide a legitimate representation to the Slovene people. It should reject the concern for symmetry in the Yugoslav political system. It is proposed that the assembly should hurry up in preparing a new Slovene constitution based on respect for human and civil rights, on a normal representative pluralist democracy, and on an independent political, economic, and cultural life for the Slovene people. The assembly should proclaim that any extraordinary measures are in principle unacceptable in the territory of Slovenia. It should prepare a Slovene political plan for the work of citizens and the state and political institutions in turbulent times, and it should announce to the whole world that Slovenia wants to be a free and democratic state of the Slovene people, which cannot be annulled by any threats or any extraordinary measures, however violently they may exert pressure on the political, economic, and intellectual life of the Slovene people. The assembly should express the determination of the Slovene republic to respond to threats to its sovereignty by taking the most resolute political and security measures, as well as by interventions in international bodies, and by informing the Slovenes and its political and economic missions abroad.

Slovene Christian Socialists Urge Activity

AU2303082789 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 11 Mar 89 p 16

[Marko Pecauer report: "How Christians Should Organize Politically"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Mar—"It is time for Slovene Christians to courageously, but most soberly, step into the political life of the Slovene public, and thus the general Yugoslav public," Peter Kovacic said in his opening speech at the extraordinary annual meeting of the Society 2000 at the Slovenska Matica premises today. The subject of the gathering was the political organization of Christians.

As stated in the introduction, it was a meeting of an internal, consultative nature. Among the guests, special welcome was given to Sergej Pahor, the representative of the Trieste Christian intellectuals; Ivan Borstner; and representatives of prewar Christian Socialists.

In his opening speech, Peter Kovacic cited three foundations of the political activities of the Christians: historical, ideological, and political. The historical continuity of these activities extends through 100 years, with the exception of 16 years between the removal of Kocbek and the foundation of the Review 2000 in 1969. The ideological foundations are Christian socialist principles. A pronouncedly negative attitude toward politics has been created among Christians. In the opinion of Peter Kovacic, they have thus lost the opportunity to influence the shaping of social life through legal institutions. The principle of the primacy of the person over all the institutions and organizations, including the state, is inalienable for the Christians. However, a sober and realistic orientation toward socialist reality is necessary.

In his opinion, action in the form of parties of the conventional parliamentary type is misdirected. The conditions for such associations are not present in our

society, and they would not be in the spirit of the Christian movement. Broader action is needed; he proposed a Christian socialist movement, suitable for contemporary conditions.

The majority of those taking part in the discussion agreed with this. The founding of another alliance such as the Slovene Democratic Alliance or the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia would be an interesting media event, but it would serve others better than the Christian movement. It was also pointed out in the discussion that their activities have nothing in common with the institution of the church; it is an association of people with the same world view. They also discussed the unease and fears that beset Christians entering the political arena; the danger that they will be at once proclaimed to be of the right, with all the negative connotations that this term has among us; as well as quite specific problems which the movement should include in its program, such as national reconciliation, a neutral school, and family legislation.

General Calls for Restoration of Peace, Order

LD2403212889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1842 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Zagreb, March 24 (TANJUG)—Unity in preparing and implementing economic, social and political reforms, in stabilizing the situation in the province of Kosovo and in firmly opposing everything leading to divisions and destruction of equality of the Yugoslav peoples, is of utmost impotance for Yugoslavia's security at the present moment.

This was stated today by commander of the Zagreb Military District, one of the four military districts in Yugoslavia, General Martin Spegelj.

Addressing war veterans and reserve army officers of Zagreb, Spegelj assessed that Yugoslavia has all necessary preconditions for surmounting relatively quickly the current crisis. Spegelj called on all to invest maximum efforts towards calming the passions in the country and to concentrate on peace, order and work.

Spegelj assessed as exceptionally important the already begun market oriented changes in the economic system of the country. However, he also stressed the necessity of changes in the political system which should ensure the functioning of Yugoslavia as a legal state.

Yugoslavia cannot exist either as a confederal, or a unitarianist state. It can exist only as a federal legal state, the commander of the Zagreb Military District was categoric. He assessed that current events in the country drastically confirm this.

Spegelj warned that there are currently in Yugoslavia instances of senseless nationalisms and fascistic attacks on the system. However, he stated, the majority of Yugoslavs are not oriented on exclusivism, partiality and sectionalism, in the way in which a number of political leaders unfortunately are at the moment.

In ending his speech, Spegelj stated that, in spite of current difficulties, the Yugoslav Armed Forces are ready and capable of fulfilling their obligations set by the federal cOnstitution to protect the country's independence sovereignty, relations and social order as determined by the Constitution.

Bjeletic Addresses Kragujevac Political School

AU2203190589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Zoran Glisovic report]

[Text] Dobroslav Bjeletic, executive secretary in the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia, addressed the participants of the Kragujevac LC Communal Committee Political School at the conclusion of their course today. He said among other things: I am convinced that the Assembly of the Province of Kosovo will adopt the amendments to the Constitution of Serbia tomorrow, and thus make a positive historical turn of significance for relations within the Republic of Serbia and beyond. Zoran Glisovic reports from Kragujevac:

Speaking about the current political, social, and economic situation in Yugoslavia, with a special reference to the events in the Republic of Serbia, Dobroslav Bjeletic first pointed out that we have overcome all of the crises through actions by million-strong masses. This, he stressed, has contributed to an essential change of the situation for the better, and to a separation of forces between those who are in favor of changes and those who are against. Many strongholds of opposition to the changes have been destroyed, starting from the Yugoslav coalition to the leaderships in Vojvodina and Kosovo. The people welcomed all the moves, and one can notice relief even among the Albanians in the southern province, who increasingly display this feeling.

Dobroslav Bjeletic said that had the country's party leadership not been so slow in assessing the situation in Kosovo, the course of affairs would have been less painful. As it is, everything has been the subject of an upheaval.

The illness of this highest LC of Yugoslavia leadership will last only until the extraordinary party congress, he said. For the first time, we will then have an opportunity to democratically elect leaders on the basis of the reform program, and the cadre problem in Yugoslav society will be resolved.

Considering the events in Slovenia which tend to hamper changes, Bjeletic remarked that what the Maribor workers class says is more important than, for instance, what speakers say in the Cankar Hall, although they unfortunately include the highest leaders of the republic.

Concluding his speech to the participants in the political school of the Kragujevac LC Communal Committee, Dobroslav Bjeletic stressed that in conformity with the reform demands, the greatest progress has been made in Serbia, where ideological, action, and forum unity has been achieved.

Pavle Gregoric Dies in Traffic Accident

LD2303121189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0744 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Summary] Zagreb, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—One of Yugoslavia's most prominent revolutionaries, the people's hero and member of the Council of the Federation, Pavle Gregoric, died in Zagreb last night following an accident in which he was hit by a car. Pavle Gregoric was 96.

Activity of Military 'Special Units' Detailed

AU2003155589

[Editorial Report] Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian on 16 March carries on page 10, under the heading, "High Standards of Military Effectiveness," a 250-word item by H. Syla, accompanied by eight photographs of special units of the Yugoslav People's Army deployed in Kosovo.

The text of the item reads as follows: "In the context of its regular activities and in accordance with the special measures in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo prescribed by the decision of the SFRY Presidency, members of the special units of the Yugoslav People's Army yesterday carried out some duties and exercises within their military exercise training program. All the planned exercises were carried out successfully, and the members of these units showed that now, just as whenever the need arises, they are ready and able to stand invincible in the defense of our country.

"The aim of this exercise was a blockade maneuver, as well as the defeat and destruction of diversionary and terrorist groups. The brave lads of this unit, with their skills and readiness in performing all their duties, showed that they know their work well. With their great sense of commitment, the way they use technical military equipment, and their agility in carrying out certain duties, it is evident that the members of this unit are ready and able to carry out every duty assigned to them.

"The main task of the members of my unit, said its officer, Momcilo Jovanovic, is to act effectively, energetically, determinedly, and swiftly to achieve high standards of military effectiveness with the smallest possible force. Everybody has shown a high level of commitment to this end, he added, including Sasa Cudar from Bovec, as well as Zoran Ilic from Bratunac, Boris Stojnic from Velika Gorica, Senad Karso from Zepce, Stevica Horvat from Vrsac, Mileta Ceriman from Ivanjica, and others."

The text is surrounded by photographs which show, clockwise from top left, a column of armored transport vehicles with the caption, "There can be no obstacle whatsoever, of terrain or weather conditions, for the transporters"; three soldiers carrying guns, running through woods, with the caption, "Capturing 'diversionaries' is an important duty calling for great physical ability and agility on the part of everybody"; soldiers disembarking from a helicopter, with the caption, "Soldiers of the special unit come to the help of the transporters by helicopter"; a soldier aiming his gun from behind a tree, with the caption, "Nothing can elude an eagle-eye without being detected and shot"; three German shepherd dogs running toward a person wearing protective clothing, with the caption, "Dogs have the most important role in seizing 'diversionaries,' who may escape bullets, but not the dogs"; two armed soldiers lying in shrubbery with a German shepherd dog, with the caption, "Dogs are indispensable in capturing 'undesirable groups'"; soldiers running across grassland, with an armored transport vehicle, with the caption, "Every task and duty is carried out at lightning speed and with great precision"; and three soldiers concealed in brushwood, with the caption, "Everything is watched, from every position, with eyes peeled."

Interethnic Rift Within Radio Pristina Described

AU2303100889 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 19 Mar 89 p 3

[T. Neziri report: "Finding the Truth Only With Facts and Evidence"]

[Text] The meeting the evening before last of the League of Communists [LC] basic organization of the political and news programming section of Radio Pristina discussed the report of a working group in connection with an analysis of the programming for February, with the special purpose of assessing and analyzing the Albanian-language news broadcasts during the February events in Kosovo. Sanie Veseli, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee and of the Presidium of the Pristina LC Communal Committee; and Zivojin Djordjevic, president of the Serbian Republican Committee for Information, also attended and spoke at the meeting.

The working group's report stressed the professional and ideopolitical negligence of some editors and journalists in the Albanian-language programs between 22-28 February. The group's work, it was said, was conducted in the context of carrying out the tasks emerging from the conclusions and assessments of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, in connection with the media in our province, with a special stress on those in the Albanian language.

Those particularly cited by the working group for professional and ideopolitical errors, negligence, and failure to follow editorial policy in Albanian-language news broadcasts during the February events were Behxhet Baraliu, chief of the programming sector, and the editor Fehmi Rexhepi, as well as Kurtesh Devaja, Mehmet Haziri, Leke Musolli, Sefedin Xhafolli, Mahmut Dautaj, Gani Ferizi, Gani Kosumi, Fatmir Podrimja, Bejtush Gashi, Beqir Sopi, Nexhat Mustafa, and Fadil Bytyqi, while Sabit Istogu, a part-time correspondent, was criticized for professional negligence; the working group proposed that ties with him should be broken.

All those criticized rejected the assessments of the working group almost entirely, calling many of them baseless and inappropriate. They emphasized that one might talk of professional negligence, but not ideopolitical negligence, because they were true to the LCY line and were in favor of strengthening brotherhood and unity and togetherness. They also pointed out that these insinuations were designed to discredit them as journalists and personally.

Throughout the meeting, there was a polarization and rift between LC members from the Albanian-language programming section on one hand, and LC members from the Serbo-Croatian and Turkish programming sections on the other hand. It emerged that interethnic relations have greatly deteriorated, and that cooperation between the Albanian, Serbo-Croatian, and Turkish editorial boards has broken down.

It was said that a large proportion of the program material broadcast during the February events is not available, since Radio Pristina has no tape recorder; it is therefore difficult to judge what errors were committed in those news programs, on the basis of whose content individual responsibilities should be determined. It was also pointed out that Radio Pristina programs broadcast in the three languages must be analyzed and assessed.

Sanie Veseli and Zivojin Djordjevic stressed in their speeches, among other things, that the conclusions of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and other high-level party bodies of the Serbian LC and the LCY must be acted upon without delay. We must talk in the language of facts regarding the mistakes that have been made, and must find out exactly who has committed errors and is guilty of negligence. However, journalists in the media must contribute toward stabilizing the very involved situation, for this is their duty. In particular, attention must be devoted to improving interethnic relations and strengthening brotherhood and unity and togetherness, because we must not fail to live together in this area and everywhere in Yugoslavia. However, we must perform all our duties in accordance with the LCY line. Milorad Vujovic and Shaip Grabovci also took part in the discussion of Radio Pristina's work during this period, and spoke about the commitments that had been made toward keeping news broadcasts on an even keel during this time.

In conclusion, it was decided that the working group should once again assess and check all the facts and evidence, and that the issue should be discussed again by the basic LC organization at the end of next week.

Debate on Interethnic Issue Called 'Intolerant'

AU2303083189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 89 p 1

[Zoran V. Sekulic commentary: "The Yoke of Seismic Reality"]

[Text] In parallel with economic misfortunes and weaknesses in the political system, Yugoslavia has also fallen into the most serious crisis in interethnic relations it has known in all of the postwar period. In accordance with the logic of the entire crisis, this perhaps should not be wondered at, even though it is unfortunately taking place in a country whose principle orientations on the national issue are well known.

At the height of the explosive situation, in which fuel is constantly being poured onto the fire, the Central Committee announced at its last session and the Presidium recently confirmed that the highest party forum will discuss interethnic relations in Yugoslavia in May. The Presidium has stated that the preparations for this session should not be routine. This "involves an assessment of the extent to which the principled stands of the League of Communists [LC] regarding the national issue and interethnic relations are suited to social processes, and the analysis of differences in views and practices of the LC, and particularly of the serious confrontations and deviations within the LC." However, the session of the Commission for Interethnic Relations of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], which is the first of several sessions in preparation for the LCY Central Committee plenum, recently showed how difficult it will be to transform this peacefully formulated stand into concrete political reality. It has been shown, therefore, that national problems in Yugoslavia today are such a sensitive and even neurotic topic that in the present situation, it is virtually impossible to discuss them calmly.

It could be said that for now, agreement only exists on general assessments in the country. There is no class, no stratum, and no generation that has not been caught up in the interethnic crisis, and there are more and more of those who are accepting nationalism. Everything else is a motive for furious polemical and quarrelsome reactions.

The explosive charge in these debates does not even begin so much because of obvious theoretical deviations concerning the causes and reasons for national friction and different views on class-national relations, as because of daily political reflections on these problems. Kosovo is of course the main point of discord here, which virtually brings the whole story back to the very beginning.

In such conditions, the question objectively arises of whether there is now real strength and even readiness in the LC to discuss the "yoke of the national issue" under which Yugoslavia has found itself in a way and with results which will not worsen the situation even more. If interethnic relations are discussed at the LCY Central Committee plenum in the same way as they were discussed in the LCY Central Committee Commission for Interethnic Relations—in a futile and intolerant way—then it is quite certain that this discussion will not serve to overcome the crisis.

It has been announced that prior to the LCY Central Committee session, the problems of interethnic relations will be discussed by the republican and provincial LC committees and the LC Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army. This affirms the seriousness of the intention to present members of the highest party forum with more or less coordinated stands. However, the experience from some earlier situations when a similar methodology was used warns that, in itself, this is no guarantee that circumstances will be more favorable after numerous debates.

Analysis of this material will in any case be yet another test for these party leaderships; it will probably be the most delicate test since their election. The ability to make political predictions in a time of crisis has not exactly been the strongest side of the LCY, and this has in fact appeared as a basic need when it comes to this subject. If this is not realized, then the consequences will be even more serious, particularly because one cannot neglect the danger that seismic political reality can burden interethnic relations even more prior to the announced session of the LCY Central Committee.

Three Sentenced for Propaganda Activity in Kosovo
AU1703185889 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] The district court in Prizren sentenced the student Nurije Plaka, from the village of (Vernica), to 3 years and 6 months' imprisonment; (Avdi Zeta), from the village of Cerice, to 2 years; and Dervish (surname indistinct), to 4 years' imprisonment for the penal act of carrying out hostile propaganda. Between 1985 and 1988, they printed and distributed leaflets on several occasions. [passage indistinct]